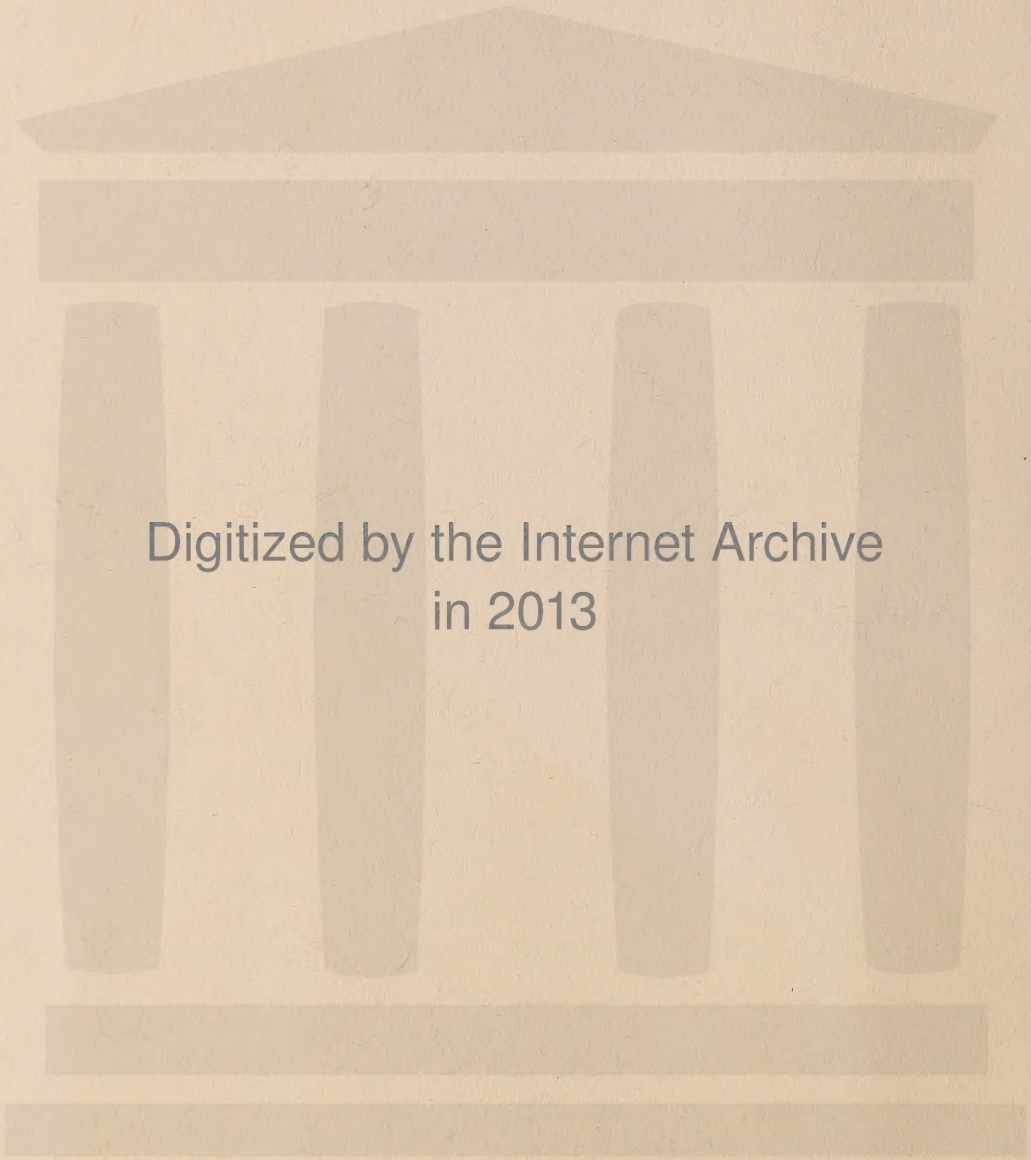
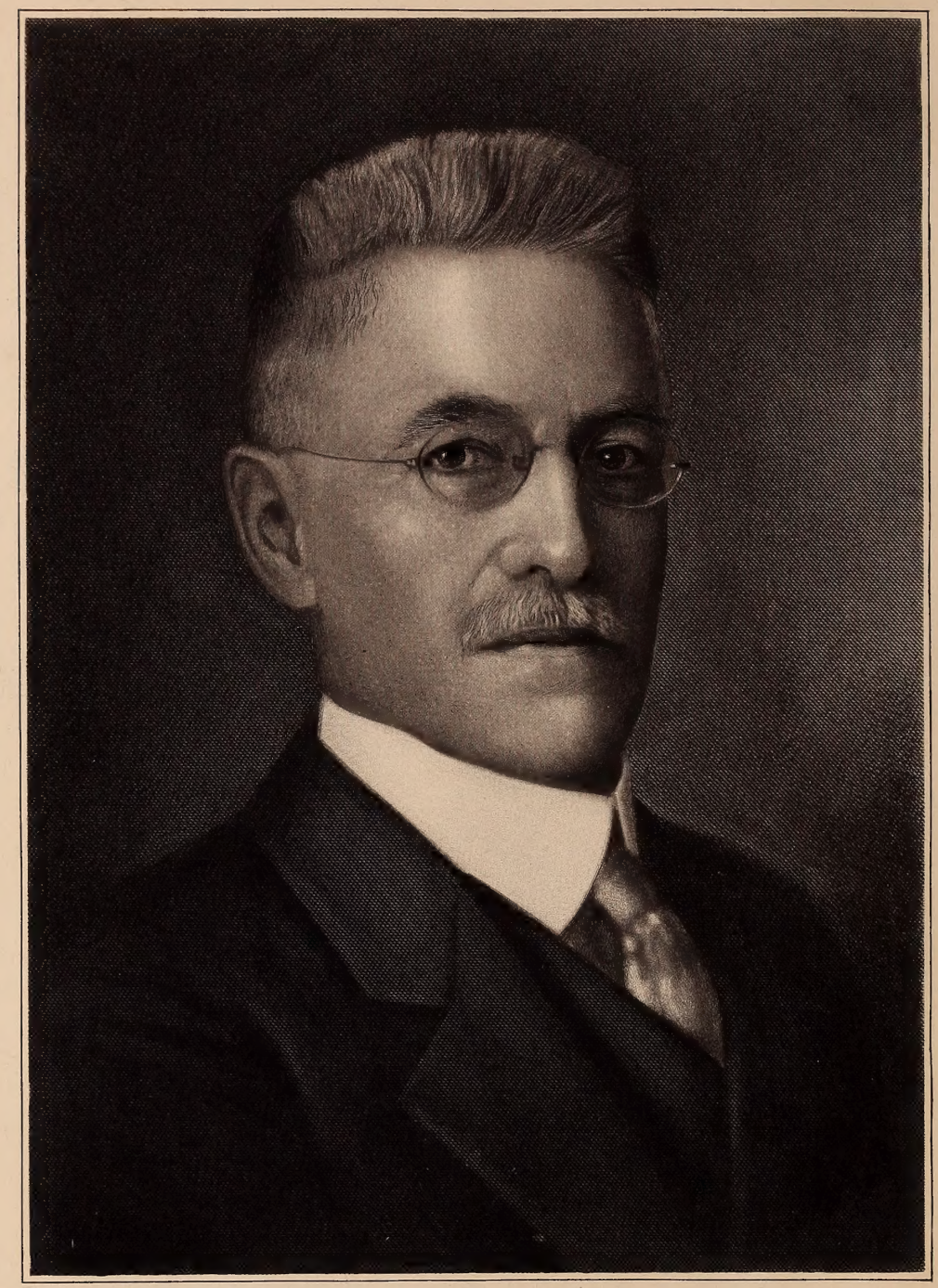
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Arthur F. Stone

THE VERMONT OF TODAY

With Its Historic Background,

Attractions and People

By

ARTHUR F. STONE

Editor of St. Johnsbury "Caledonian," 1890-1910; member Lake Champlain Sesqui-Centennial Commission; officer of the Vermont Historical Society; postmaster of St. Johnsbury, 1909-1912.

VOLUME I

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NEW YORK
1929

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1929

Preface

"OF MAKING many books there is no end," and some may ask, "Why another History of Vermont?" The answer is found in the title of this work, the table of contents and the subject matter. Even a casual perusal of its pages will convince the reader that "The Vermont of Today" is different from previous histories. In fact, it covers a distinctively new field in the literature of the State. Many histories have appeared since Dr. Samuel Williams first published his remarkable work in 1794, but this is the first one to present a modern view of accomplishments.

The historic background is briefly given that one may see how from the necessities of the early days came the inventions that reformed the industrial life of the world; the improvements in agriculture; the growing demand for conserving our natural resources; the cultural developments that gave us institutions of learning that attract students from all over the land. The insistent demand for progress created better roads, better crops and a citizenry that has all contributed to the making of the "New Vermont."

Many minds have contributed to the making of this work and to all the contributors and others who offered suggestions and advice the editor returns grateful thanks. Credit has been given the contributors as their articles appear and the material for the chapters was obtained from many sources—newspapers, magazines, books, State reports, and interviews. Accuracy was sought and if mistakes have crept in they are unintentional.

The great little State is given in the following pages the publicity it richly deserves. Its industries and its agriculture; its educational and financial institutions; its professions; its outdoor attractions and twentieth century movements are all described. It is the author's hope that the perusal of this work will make all better acquainted with the State and its varied resources and will kindle in all that spirit of loyalty which is our most cherished possession.

"The Vermont of Today" is published at no expense to the State or the Vermont State Chamber of Commerce. The author offers it to the public with the firm belief that it will help sell Vermont to Vermonters and to the rest of the world.

ARTHUR F. STONE.

St. Johnsbury, Vt.,
November 1, 1929.

Announcement

THE PAGES of Vermont history which follow speak more eloquently than any announcement could of the diligent labor in research and study which has gone into the volumes. The work of the author, of the contributors who are named with the sections they wrote, and of Edwin P. Conklin, of the publishers' editorial staff, Mr. Stone's associate in compilation, bears an imprint of excellence that has been generously complimented. It is primarily to acknowledge the substantial aid and coöperation of the members of the advisory board that this page is penned, for their unfailing interest and response were dependable factors in the preparation of the history, and without this just recognition the part they played would be unknown. Their names follow: Leo F. Willson; W. C. Johnson, Jr.; Dr. T. S. Brown; Frederick H. Babbitt; President Paul D. Moody, of Middlebury College; Governor John E. Weeks; James F. Dewey; Rawson C. Myrick; President Charles A. Plumley, of Norwich University; Mrs. Frank E. Lowe; Mrs. Martin S. Vilas; Park H. Pollard; Mason S. Stone, A. B., A. M., LL.D.; Ex-Governor William W. Stickney; Howard L. Hindley; Luther B. Johnson; Frank E. Howe; John Barrett; J. L. Southwick; Walter H. Crockett; Edward H. Jones; Frank H. Duffy; Mortimer R. Proctor, A. B.; Judge Leighton P. Slack; Herbert C. Comings; Robert M. Ross, B. F.; Dr. Rollin D. Jenney; Frank C. Partridge; Fred C. Martin; Herbert T. Johnson; George F. Root.

To all of those named above and to a public which has given a high degree of appreciation and support to this Vermont history, earnest and cordial gratitude is extended by

THE PUBLISHERS.

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THE VERMONT OF TODAY

DEDICATION



"THE VERMONT OF TODAY"

Is Dedicated to the State's
Greatest Product and Finest
Asset,

OUR BOYS AND GIRLS

Confident that the Heritage
They Have Received Will Inspire
Them to Nobler Deeds and
Greater Service in

"THE VERMONT OF TOMORROW."

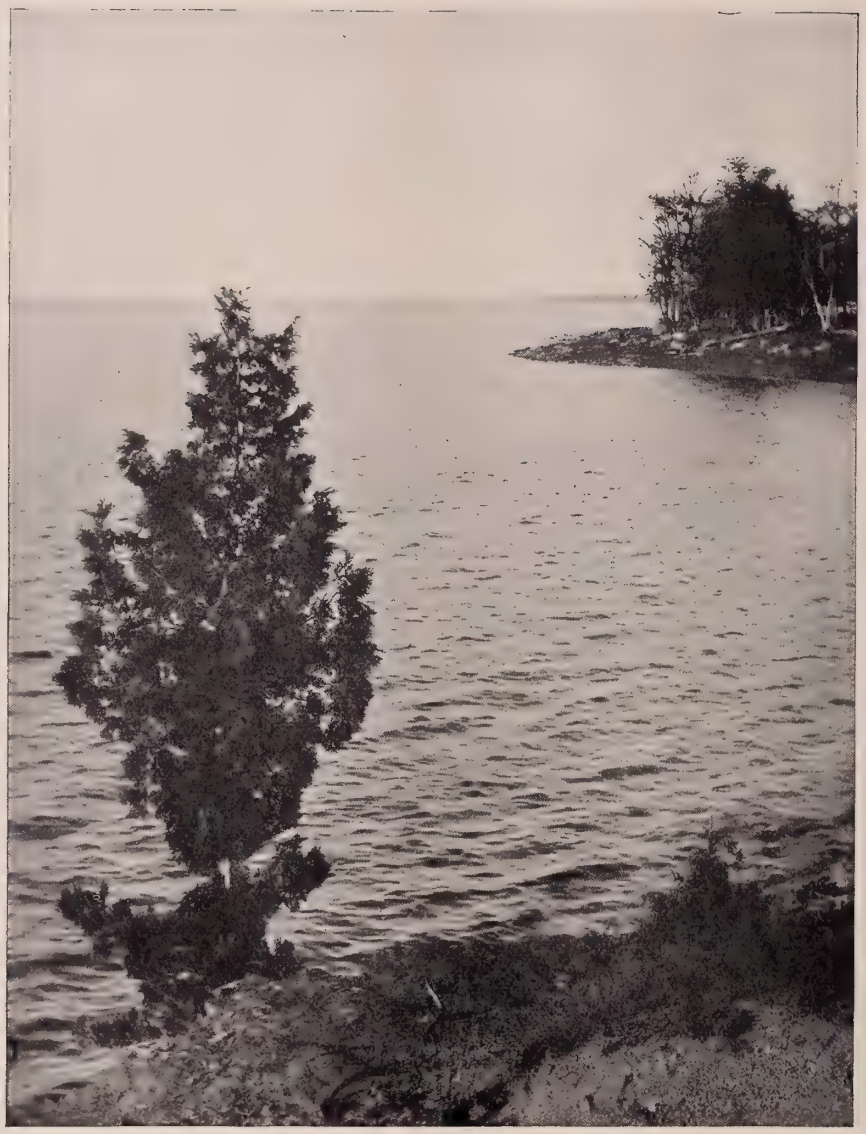
CALVIN COOLIDGE'S TRIBUTE TO VERMONT

"Vermont is a State I love. I could not look upon the peaks of Ascutney, Whittier and Mansfield without being moved in a way that no other scene could move me.

"It was here I first saw the light of day; here I received my bride; here my dead lie pillowed among the everlasting hills. I love Vermont because of her hills and valleys, the scenery and invigorating climate. But most of all because of her indomitable people. They are a race of pioneers who almost beggared themselves for others.

"If the spirit of liberty should vanish from the rest of the Union, and our institutions should languish, it all could be restored by the generous store held by the people in this brave little State of Vermont."

—Delivered at North Bennington, September 22, 1928.



WOOD'S ISLAND, LAKE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING

"Land of the mountain and the rock,
Of lofty hill and lowly glen,
Live thunder-bolts thy mountains mock;
Well dost thou nurse by tempest's shock
Thy race of iron men!"

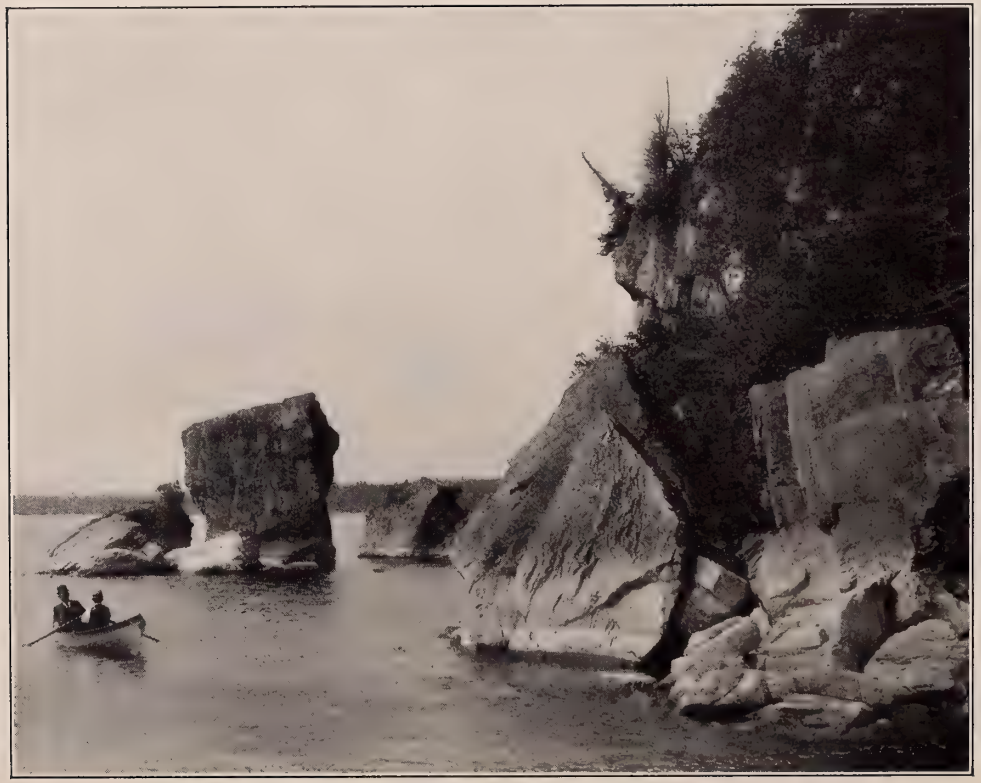
Ages and ages after the "Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" dry land appeared on this globe and there was, according to the unknown author of the first book in the Bible, a gathering together of the waters. Geologists have been trying for many years to discover what happened next, but all agree that millions of years intervened before the dawn of civilization and man's first appearance on this earth. It is generally accepted by these scientists that at the beginning of this long period that part of the great Appalachian range known as the Adirondacks was first formed and that somewhat later the Green Mountains were raised. Both ranges were undoubtedly much higher in pre-historic days than now. Therefore what is now Vermont is among the oldest regions in the United States. The tremendous forces of Nature were constantly working upon the earth's slowly cooling crust that produced many changes in the composition of the rocks and the contour of the land. Nature in her lavish distribution of mineral resources on the North American continent gave Vermont its rich veins of granite, marble, slate and other stones whose finished product has contributed so largely to the wealth of the State.

Geological Surveys—As early as 1836 a movement to provide for a geological survey of the State was made by the Legislature. The following year Hon. Horace Eaton, then chairman of the committee on education and later Governor, made an able report which resulted in the first survey of the State in 1844. Professor Charles B. Adams of Middlebury College was the first State Geologist and his four annual reports, with illustrations, formed a volume of nearly four hundred pages. Upon his death he was succeeded by Professor Zadoch Thompson of the University of Vermont. He began his distinguished career as author and publisher by producing while

a freshman at the Burlington institution an almanac for the year 1819. His sisters sewed the pages together and the young man peddled them from town to town to earn the money to complete his college course. When he could not get cash for his almanac he took paper and rags for payment. He served as State Geologist from 1841 until his death in 1856. Though best known as the author of the "History of Vermont," a large volume of about six hundred and fifty pages and published in several editions, his "Geography and Geology of Vermont" is the first treatise ever published on the geology of the State. Appearing in 1848 it was a popular presentation of a dry subject with State and county outline maps and intended for both school and family use. His successor, Augustus Young, published the outline of the final report of Professor Thompson after the latter's death and later printed a survey of his own. But by far the most comprehensive work on the geology of Vermont that has ever appeared, and which is still considered authoritative, was published in 1851 by authority of the Legislature in two quarto volumes with numerous maps and illustrations. It was edited by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, the third president of Amherst College, though the author frankly states in the preface that the real work was done by Albert D. Hager of Proctorsville and the editor's two sons, Dr. Edward Hitchcock, Jr., and Charles H. Hitchcock, the geologist for the State of Maine. Among others who carried on the geological explorations in succeeding years may be mentioned Dr. Hiram A. Cutting of Lunenburg and the learned gentleman who is still serving so well as State Geologist, Professor George H. Perkins, professor of natural history at the University of Vermont.

A cursory reading of the works, reports and monographs of these scientists indicates how closely the geological history of the State is linked with its present development. As indicated in a preceding paragraph the metamorphoses in the earth's crust gave us our almost exhaustless deposits of granite, marble and slate, while the results of the various glacial periods—especially according to Professor Perkins that of the action of the third glacier in the Pleistocene period—are everywhere in evidence today in the rich lime-laden soil of our farms and in the deposits of gravel that have been so extensively used in the construction of our highways and the ballasting of our railroads.

Our Hills and Mountains—Vermont is a State of mountains. There is not a single one of its two hundred and forty-eight cities and towns without its hill and vale. Some one has humorously



ROCK POINT, LAKE CHAMPLAIN

declared that if Vermont could only be ironed out it would then be as large as Texas. Irving D. Appleby of Boston, who holds the world's record in walking "The Long Trail," said in a magazine article that Vermont boasts of four hundred and fifty-nine peaks over 2,000 feet high and five over 4,000 feet high. No more concise description of the great mountain range that extends up and down the State has ever been given than what was penned by our first historian, Dr. Samuel Williams of Rutland, in his first edition of the "History of Vermont," published in 1794:

> Through the whole tract of country which lies between the west side of Connecticut river, and the east side of Hudson's river, and Lake Champlain, there is one continued range of mountains. These mountains begin in the province of Canada. From thence, they extend through the States of Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and terminate within a few miles of the sea-coast. Their general direction is from NNE to SSW, and their extent is through a tract of country not less than four hundred miles in length. They are one continued range or collection of mountains, appearing as if they were piled one upon another. They are generally from ten to fifteen miles in width, are much intersected with valleys, abound with springs, and streams of water, and are everywhere covered with woods. Their appearance is among the most grand and majestic phenomena which nature exhibits. From the perpetual verdure which they exhibit, they are called the Green Mountains; and with great propriety their name has been assigned to the State.

This range is nearer the western than the eastern side of the State and separates into two ranges in the southern part of Washington County. Running northerly one division skirts the boundaries of Chittenden and Franklin counties, thence through Lamoille County into Canada. The other division extends through the eastern part of Washington County, through Caledonia and Essex counties and ends in Canada. It is in the latter division that there is found the height of land where near Crystal Lake in Barton there are two springs within one hundred feet of each other. The waters of one spring are discharged into Crystal Lake and later find their way into the St. Lawrence River. The other spring sends its waters south into the Passumpsic River that finally through the Connecticut River reach the salt water of Long Island Sound.

Geologists found another range of mountains extending from Western Massachusetts into Vermont as far north as Brandon and named this range the Taconic Mountains. This range is entirely independent of the Green Mountains though parallel with them. Some of the peaks in this range are over 3,000 feet high and there are more passes for roads and rivers than are found in the Green

Mountains. Mount Equinox at Manchester is the highest of these peaks with an altitude of 3,816 feet.

Some of the Highest Peaks—Mount Mansfield, the highest peak in the State, was named for a township in which it was situated and which had in 1840 a population of two hundred and twenty-three souls. Somewhat later one part of the township was annexed to Underhill and the other portion to Stowe, the latter town getting the major part of the big mountain. Different individuals have recorded different measurements of its height, but the highest peak known as the Chin is 4,406 feet above sea level. Viewed from a distance Mount Mansfield looks like a man's upturned face—hence the various names of the peaks, the Forehead, the Nose, the Lip, the Chin and Adam's Apple. The view from the summit is the most extensive in the State. Albert D. Hager, who combined a scientific grasp of his subject with a vivid descriptive power, writes thus of the views from the Chin:

> Standing on the summit in a clear day, the observer looks down upon the country extending from the base of the mountain to Lake Champlain as he would upon a map, and beholds in the outspread panorama an agreeable diversity of hills and valleys, forests and cultivated fields, villages and streams of water. Further along in the picture may be seen Lake Champlain, which at intervals is observed, far to the north and south, peering out in the blue distance like inlaid masses of highly polished silver, to give light and beauty to the scene. The valley of the lake may be traced its entire length, beyond which arise the majestic and picturesque Adirondacks, which give a romantic beauty to the background of the picture, and terminate the vision in that direction by their numerous painted summits. Turning to the east, the wavy line of the horizon is broken by the sharp outlines of the White Mountains, which rise up in the dim distance, sixty miles off, and form a marked feature in the landscape, while the intervening space is filled with innumerable summits of hills and mountains, with deep extended valleys, showing the location and courses of the Connecticut, Winooski and Lamoille, and their summer tributaries. To the north can be seen the widespread valley of the St. Lawrence, and by the aid of a glass on a clear day steamers may be seen gliding upon its waters. The well-known figure of Montreal Mountain rises in the hazy distance at the north, and Owl's Head is seen peering up amid grey summits far to the north.

The mountain climber who follows the trail up Jay Peak, whose summit is 4,018 feet above sea level; who climbs Mount Ascutney or the higher tops of Killington and Pico, is richly rewarded in a panorama spread before his eyes whose grandeur is not excelled in the view from the summits of the most famous mountains in the country.

The Lakes and Ponds—Not counting its lakes by the thousands as Minnesota and Wisconsin can easily, there are, however, in Ver-



SARGENT'S BAY, LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG

mont over four hundred bodies of fresh water large enough to be known as a lake or a pond. Nearly half of these are located in Northeastern Vermont. The two largest bodies of water are only partially within the State, Lake Champlain and Lake Memphremagog. The former was named for that intrepid French navigator and explorer, Samuel de Champlain, who entered its waters from the northern end, July 4, 1609, about two months earlier than Hudson's discovery of the great river that bears his name. No lake in the east has so many historical associations, as will appear in succeeding chapters of this work. In "Champlain's Narrative" (translated by Bourne) the explorer gives this description of the first white man's visit to these waters:

> The next day, July 4, we entered the lake, which is of great extent, perhaps 50 or 60 leagues long. There I saw four beautiful islands, 10, 12 and 15 leagues long, which formerly had been inhabited by savages, like the river of the Iroquois; but they had been abandoned since they had been at war with one another.
>
> Continuing our course in this lake on the west side, I saw, as I was observing the country, some very high mountains on the east side, with snow on the top of them. I inquired of the savages if these places were inhabited. They told me they were—by the Iroquois.

This is the largest navigable fresh water lake in the United States next to the Great Lakes. It has an area of four hundred and thirty-five square miles and the statement has been made that when it was frozen over every inhabitant now living on the earth could stand on it without crowding his nearest neighbor. Two-thirds of the lake is within the borders of the State, its deepest channel being the boundary line between the States of Vermont and New Hampshire. It reaches its greatest width of a trifle over twelve miles just north of Burlington while its greatest depth of three hundred and ninety-nine feet is off Essex, New York. The islands that Champlain saw now comprise the smallest county in the State —Grand Isle. The mountains that he viewed were the northern portion of the Green Mountain range though it is hardly conceivable that their summits were snow-capped on the Fourth of July. It has well been called the Queen of American lakes; famous artists have reproduced its gorgeous sunsets on canvas; poets have been inspired by its charms, and travelers from all parts of the world have broadcasted its scenic beauty.

Roughly speaking, only one-third of Lake Memphremagog is in Vermont, the rest being in Canada. This lake is about thirty miles long and four miles across at its widest point. Its outlet is the Magog River which is a tributary of the mighty St. Lawrence.

High mountains give a picturesqueness to this long and narrow sheet of water and many fine cottages are half-hidden in the trees along its shores.

Leading the State in the number of lakes, Orleans County also has the largest—Lake Seymour—with over 3,000 acres of clear water and rugged shores. This sequestered lake is 1,160 feet above sea level and one of the most attractive, though less frequently visited, of them all. Lake Willoughby is the Lake Lucerne of America with Mount Pisgah and Mount Hor on opposite sides guarding the spirit of the waters as jealously as the Rigi and Pilatus guard the ancient Swiss city and the blue waters that lap its shores. The highway closely hugs the eastern shore of the lake its entire distance and Alpine plants found in no other place in Vermont grow and blossom on the mountains. Around Caspian Lake at Greensboro there has grown up in the past thirty years the most famous summer colony in the State where 2,500 people from many States make this their home for some portion of the season. Of this delightful spot Professor Bliss Perry of Harvard, one of the pioneer colonists, has said that Greensboro means "just something high and green and soft with the gleam of water and the shadowy fir balsams, and a sky that changes from moment to moment, like a beautiful woman."

Lake Bomoseen is the largest lake that has been surveyed and covers 2,450 acres. It is about eight miles long and two and one-half miles wide with a ten-acre island in the center. Lake many of the smaller lakes in the State it is surrounded by wooded hills and mountains. It is one of the most popular resorts throughout the summer in that section of the State. Lake Dunmore has a charm of its own and of historic interest, as many of the scenes of Thompson's "Green Mountain Boys" are laid there. Island Pond, as its name indicates, has a small island in the center and Lake Mansfield is a privately owned pond well stocked with trout, almost hidden from view by the precipitous mountains at its very shores. The Averill lakes in the northern part of Essex County are the sportsman's paradise and many summer cottages and camps dot their shores.

Lake Morey and Fairlee Lake are the center of the summer boys' and girls' camps whose remarkable growth is one of the new movements that has contributed much to the wealth of the State. On the cliffs overtopping Lake Morey the peregrine falcons nest every spring, descendants and belonging to the same species that furnished sport for the nobles in feudal times. It was near Lake Morey that the first steamboat in America took the water and



LAKE BOMOSEEN, CASTLETON

many believe that Captain Morey's steamer lies buried in the waters that perpetuate his name.

Joe's pond in Danville and Cabot, named for Indian Joe, and with its thousand acres perhaps the largest pond, so-called, in Vermont, has become one of the most popular summer resorts in northeastern Vermont with new cottages being built every year.

Of the artificial ponds created by corporations or municipalities for developing electric light and power the largest is at the Whitingham Dam, and others that may be mentioned are Lake Lamoille and the big reservoir at the dam at Molly's Falls near Marshfield.

Our Rivers and Streams—The great river which forms the eastern boundary of the State is not in Vermont at all, for by a Royal decree in 1764, the west bank of the Connecticut was established as the boundary line between what were at that time the States of New Hampshire and New York. All attempts on Vermont's part since that time to annul this decree have proven futile. New Hampshire claims that when Vermont first sought admission to the Union Congress made it "an indispensable preliminary to admission to the Union * * * * that Vermont explicitly relinquish all demands of lands on the east side of the Connecticut River." Eager for statehood the Vermont Legislature later passed this resolution: "That the west bank of the Connecticut River shall be considered as the east boundary of the State." New Hampshire rests her claim on this stipulation, but Vermont repudiates this acceptance as Congress turned down this petition. When Vermont was finally admitted into the Union it is the State's contention that she was admitted with the boundaries that had belonged to the towns and that these were in the middle of the river. The whole controversy has cost our State thousands of dollars in litigation and still remains, as our legal friends would express it, *in statu quo.*

For the past one hundred and fifty years this river has bulked large in the industrial development of the State. For unknown centuries before the white man came it was the main artery for the migrations and commerce of the Indians. Lyman S. Hayes, the Bellows Falls historian, relates that in the days of a famine among the Connecticut colonists a fleet of fifty bark canoes and dug-outs heavily laden with Indian corn was paddled down the river by stalwart Indians from the north country. The colonists first used flat boats, and for a few years, a century ago, little steamers, the latter giving way to the railroad that steadily advanced up the valley. Until recent years the river was filled every spring with great logs

for the paper mills. Today it is furnishing "white coal" for the largest hydro-electric development east of Niagara Falls.

In its tortuous sweep of approximately three hundred miles through four New England States the river drops 2,551 feet, receiving the waters of 3,700 square miles in Vermont or nearly three-tenths of the State's area. A dozen Vermont rivers swell its waters. These from North to South are the Nulhegan, Passumpsic, Wells, Waits, Ompompanoosuc, White, Quechee, Black, Williams, Saxtons, West and Deerfield. The latter does not join the larger river in Vermont, but in Massachusetts.

Viewed from an æsthetic standpoint it is one of the most beautiful rivers in the United States. From its source in the northern tip of New Hampshire in a mountain pond where "almost the only sound that relieves the monotony is the croaking of the frogs," until it finally reaches Long Island at Old Saybrook in the State which bears its name, it presents, according to President Timothy Dwight of Yale who visited it in 1821, an "almost continuous succession of delightful scenery." Nearly a century later Edwin M. Bacon in describing its charm wrote:

> The predominating beauty of the river is sweet and winsome, rather than proud and majestic. It has its grand moods, but these are brilliant flashes which serve to enhance the exquisiteness of its gentler mien. The valley's charm is found in the frequency and magnitude of the fertile meadows—intervales of common speech—off-spreading from the river's sides; the procession of splendid terraces rising between intervening glens; and the continuous mountain frame, comprised in the irregular outline of trap and sandstone ranges on either side, interrupted only by the entrance of tributary streams.

All the rivers within the borders of the State are comparatively small and their sources are in the Green Mountains. Besides the tributaries of the Connecticut there are three other smaller watersheds. Lake Memphremagog receives the contents of three small rivers, the Clyde, the Barton and the Black. Five rivers flow in a westerly direction into Lake Champlain, the Missisquoi, Lamoille, Winooski and Poultney rivers and Otter Creek. In the southwestern part of the State there are two rivers which empty into the Hudson, the Battenkill and the Hoosic.

These are by no means all of the rivers in Vermont but are the larger ones. Their falls have long furnished water power for diversified industries, some that have long been abandoned. Their gorges, particularly those of the Quechee and Winooski, are among the most picturesque spots in the entire State.



THE NOTCH FORMED BY MTS. PISGAH AND HOR AT WILLOUGHBY LAKE. BURKE AND KIRBY MOUNTAINS IN THE DISTANCE

The Ever-Changing Weather—Situated in the middle of the north temperate zone the climate runs to extremes and the rigors of a Vermont winter have furnished the theme for many a joke. Some twenty-five years ago Robert J. Burdette, the well-known humorist, was booked to lecture in a town in the northeastern part of the State, reaching his destination on one of the coldest days of the year. As he was driven to the hotel he passed the Soldiers' monument surmounted by a statue of the Goddess of Liberty, carved from Carrara marble by a noted Vermont sculptor. To protect the Italian marble from the ravages of the weather it was encased in a box. This elicited the remark from the Burlington "Hawk Eye" editor that he had come to the coldest town in the United States as it was the only place where they boxed up their marble statues to keep them from freezing. Vermont winters are long and the summers all too short, but by and large the climate of the State gives a particular zest to work and play and also contributes to the sturdy character of the people. One hundred days of continuous sleighing is not uncommon in winter, particularly in the northern part of the State, but a heavy fall of snow is welcomed by the woodsmen. In the later years it has contributed in a marked degree to the health and happiness of a constantly growing number who are enjoying our winter sports.

Since 1894 official records have been kept at the Fairbanks Museum at St. Johnsbury which throw an interesting light on the uniformity of climatic conditions throughout the years as compared with the first observations taken by Dr. Samuel Williams at Rutland in 1790-91. In the 20-year period since 1894 the highest temperature in St. Johnsbury was 101 and the lowest 38 below zero. The mean annual temperature for this period was 42.6 degrees. The observations of Dr. Williams were taken in a latitude some 75 miles farther south. He found the maximum temperature to be 93, the minimum -27, with the mean temperature for the two-year period 43.5 degrees.

The snowfall in the 25-year period since 1894, according to the Fairbanks Museum meteorological records, gives an annual average of 74.7 inches with the maximum precipitation in the winter of 1919-20 of 113.4—a trifle over nine feet. The lightest snowfall was in the winter of 1912-13 when there was a total precipitation of 41.7 inches. The average date of the first killing frost through this period was September 25 and of the last killing frost May 19. The average temperature in the three winter months was 17.5 and in the three summer months 68.1 degrees.

While of course atmospheric conditions vary somewhat through the years, there has been a comparative uniformity except in the year of 1816. No official records of the thermometer have been preserved and our information is gleaned from early published town histories and old letters. It was certainly the coldest summer, and during the early part perhaps the dryest, ever known. "Snow was ten inches deep in Vermont in June, ice thick as window glass in July, and an inch thick in August." Snow is said to have fallen and frosts to have occurred at some places in every part of the State. A sudden change in the weather the first Tuesday in June caught Chauncey Spaulding, clad in tow trousers and a cotton shirt, planting potatoes on his St. Johnsbury farm and a wild snow squall drove him from the field. "On the eighth of June," writes Zadoch Thompson, "snow fell in all parts of the State, and upon the highlands and mountains to the depth of five or six inches. It was accompanied by a hard frost, and on the morning of the ninth ice was half an inch thick on shallow standing water, and icicles were to be seen a foot long."

In that memorable week Henry Little, a native Vermonter who died in Kalamazoo about 50 years ago, recalled that for four days and four nights at his boyhood home in St. Johnsbury "the sky, sun, moon and stars were all the while obscured by thick, dark-brown, wavy clouds; and on two or three of these days fine, round flakes of snow were seen floating in the air. The snow disappeared about as fast as it came, and consequently it made but little or no showing on the ground, which remained frozen all the time of that cold snap."

After a snowfall of several inches in Peacham that week, a man and a boy went into the woods hunting for lost sheep and became so confused that they themselves were lost. The boy was found alive, but the man was dead, which gave rise to the report that the Vermont climate was so severe that a man had frozen to death in the month of June. As the boy was found alive it was never believed that his older companion met his death by freezing.

That protracted freeze proved very injurious to crops, the continuous cold of the summer preventing the ripening of any of them except a very little corn and potatoes. The corn was poor and the potatoes were small and the latter in their unripe condition brought 75 cents a bushel—the top price for a century ago. Corn was bought at Charlestown, New Hampshire, conveyed up the river on flat boats to Newbury, and sold in all directions at $2.50 a bushel. Beech leaves were boiled and used for food; in the Orleans county



LAKE MANSFIELD, STOWE

towns the people were saved from actual starvation by the abundance of game in the woods and fish in the water. The scarcity of seed corn raised the price to $5 a bushel with only a little to be obtained at that fancy price. It was soon after the war with England and money was almost as scarce as provisions. But those were pioneer days and the hardships and privations of the year without a summer were cheerfully borne and soon forgotten in the more strenuous years that followed.

The State's Greatest Asset—Considerable attention has been given in this opening chapter to the mountains, lakes, rivers, and even the climate, because all had an important bearing upon the geographical distribution of the inhabitants and the formation of their character. The Connecticut River was the great highway and some of the first settlements were on its fertile meadows. Hartford, Hartland, Norwich and Newbury were settled from 1761 to 1763. The first settlers that came to Newbury in midwinter made the long journey up the river in a rude vehicle, half sleigh and half sled. The Indian trails followed close to the rivers and some of the early settlers founded towns on their edges. Still others were attracted by the lakes where such cities as Burlington and Newport were started. But as the Indians grew more hostile and scenes of pillage were enacted the tendency grew to locate the town on higher lands. Here, too, the forest stand was lighter and the soil not so damp and heavy. Today every county in the State except Grand Isle has what are commonly known as hill towns, many of which have steadily declined in population. But of greater importance than the influence of mountains and lakes, wind and weather, upon the geographical distribution of the early settlers was the development of a sturdy character by the people in their constant struggle against Nature's barriers. This is our richest heritage. "Ranking forty-second in area and only forty-fifth in population, the Green Mountain State lays no claim to vastness of resources, such as distinguish commonwealths like Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania; but her greatest gift to the Nation has been the sons and daughters reared among her rugged hills and beautiful lakes."

CHAPTER II

WHEN THE INDIAN POSSESSED THE LAND

Ancient civilizations have left the story of their rise and fall in cuneiform inscriptions on tablets, hieroglyphics cut in obelisks or in the pages of poetry and prose of the classics, but the American Indians have left few traces of their life through the countless ages before the white men came. Neither did they have any written language. That they lived in Vermont for centuries is proven by an examination of their crumbling bones that have been turned up by the plow or washed into our streams by the ever-shifting currents. We know they were quite proficient in the arts and crafts, as thousands of their implements have been found all over the State. Yet in only two places have they left their sign language on the rocks so that much that has come down to us in legendary. Evidences of their camping grounds, according to Dr. David S. Kellogg, have been found in forty-five different localities in the State. They had extensive burial grounds in the old hemp yard at Swanton and at Newbury at the Ox Bow on the Connecticut River. But they had few permanent abiding places, as the Indian was migratory and not only loved to roam but had to roam to obtain food for himself and his family. There is not a full-blooded Indian residing in Vermont today, but not a few white families have Indian blood in their veins and are proud of their ancestry. How many thousands actually lived in Vermont is purely speculative and one man's guess is as good as another's. It must be remembered, however, that aside from actual residents there were bands of varying numbers crossing the State in every direction, sometimes in peaceful pursuits and at other times with their loins girded for warfare and pillage. At their first contact with the white man in Vermont they faced gunpowder instead of the glad hand when Champlain boldly advanced toward them with an arquebus loaded with four balls, and aimed straight at one of the three chiefs. "Here was the beginning, and in some measure the cause," says the great historian Parkman, "of a long suite of murderous conflicts, bearing havoc and flame to generations yet unborn."

The Algonquin Confederacy and their Tribes—Long before New Hampshire and New York were rivals for the ownership of Vermont two great Indian confederacies, the Algonquin and the Iro-

quois, were fighting much more fiercely for the possession of this same territory. Extending from New Brunswick almost to the Rocky Mountains the Algonquins were larger in numbers than the Iroquois, whose territory originally covered the watershed between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean. "Of all the inhabitants of the New World they were the most terrible foes and the most capable of organized and sustained warfare; and of all the inhabitants north of Mexico they were the most civilized and intelligent." Thus were the Iroquois characterized by Hon. Elihu Root in his historical address at Plattsburg in the summer of 1909. The Mohawks were one of their tribes that occupied Southwestern Vermont and it is probable that the Missisquoi, who had a town on the river of the same name, were also of Iroquois stock.

But we are more especially interested in the Algonquins because the tribes from this confederacy occupied most of the State when the explorers and later the settlers came. In an exhaustive study of the Indian occupation of Vermont, D. P. Thompson, the historian of Montpelier, reaches the conclusion that though the Iroquois were not the original owners and occupiers of any part of Vermont they did possess it previously to 1540, holding it for a century and then voluntarily relinquishing their claims to the original owners, the Abenaki tribe of the Algonquin confederacy. The Abenakis retained their possession of the land until the settlers eventually occupied it. Associated with the Abenakis were at least two other Algonquin tribes, the Mohicans and the Coosucks. The former had their hunting grounds in the lower part of the State from Connecticut River to Lake Champlain. The Coosucks were also called the Cowass, which was later shortened to Coos. Because they made their winter home at St. Francis in lower Canada they are often referred to as the St. Francis Indians. They selected the Ox Bow at Newbury for their camping ground in the summer, returning to Canada every fall to hunt the moose and secure through the winter their never-failing supply of furs. From these tribes of the Algonquin stock have been derived the names of a few of our cities and towns but more of our lakes and rivers. The city of Winooski and the river was known by the red man as the Winooskie-tuk, the onion-land river. In early geographies the capital of the State is referred to as "Montpelier-on-the-Onion" and the latter name clung to the river for some time. The town of Brandon was chartered in 1762 as Neshobe and its name was not changed until twenty-two years later. Troy was organized in 1802 and named Missisco, which seems to be the simplified spelling of Missisquoi,



PICO, KILLINGTON, AND SHREWSBURY MOUNTAINS

the river that flows through that town. Connecticut is a modification of Quinni-tukq-ut, or Quoneh-ta-cut, which being translated means the "Long Tidal River." The Ompompanoosuc, one of the rivers of Orange County, signifies a stream where many onions are found. The name Otta Quechee, and the shortened Quechee, means a stream where there are whirling waters. Mem-plow-bouque, signifying a large expanse of water, was softened to Memphremagog. Lake Bomoseen was named for an Indian chief Bomozeen. Joe's pond in Danville and Molly's pond in Cabot retain the English names of Indian Joe and his wife Molly. Most of our summer camps for the boys and girls have euphonious Indian names.

The Trails of the Past—The Indian trails of yesterday have in many instances become the highways of today. It is comparatively easy to visualize the topography of the State a few centuries ago. The dense forests were pierced by narrow trails and the river courses were paralleled with paths as familiar to the Indian as our selected highways are to the traveler today. This network of forest footways could almost be accurately reproduced on a present-day map. Wherever possible the lakes and rivers were used for portages between various points. Lake Champlain offered the most natural route on the west. Caniaderi-Guarunte, signifying the mouth or the door of the country, was one of the names given this lake by the Indians, "the very gate through which the tides of ancient Indian battle ebbed and flowed." From the St. Lawrence to the Hudson there was an almost continuous water route. On the east side was the Connecticut River which the Indians reached by several trails. Sometimes they followed the Winooski to its headwaters in Peacham where a short trail soon brought them to the big river. Sometimes they left the Winooski before its source and followed the trail down the Wells River. A well-patronized trail in Northeastern Vermont followed the St. Francis and Magog rivers to Lake Memphremagog. From thence the canoes would ascend the Clyde River to Island Pond where a short portage led to the Nulhegan River which empties into the Connecticut. Perhaps no one has made a more careful study of these old trails than Samuel Carter who has reached the conclusion that Vermont was honeycombed with them. He says that the Winooski River was so often used as a trunk line in the days of the French and Indian wars that it came to be called the French River. Of one of these named trails Mr. Carter said in a public address:

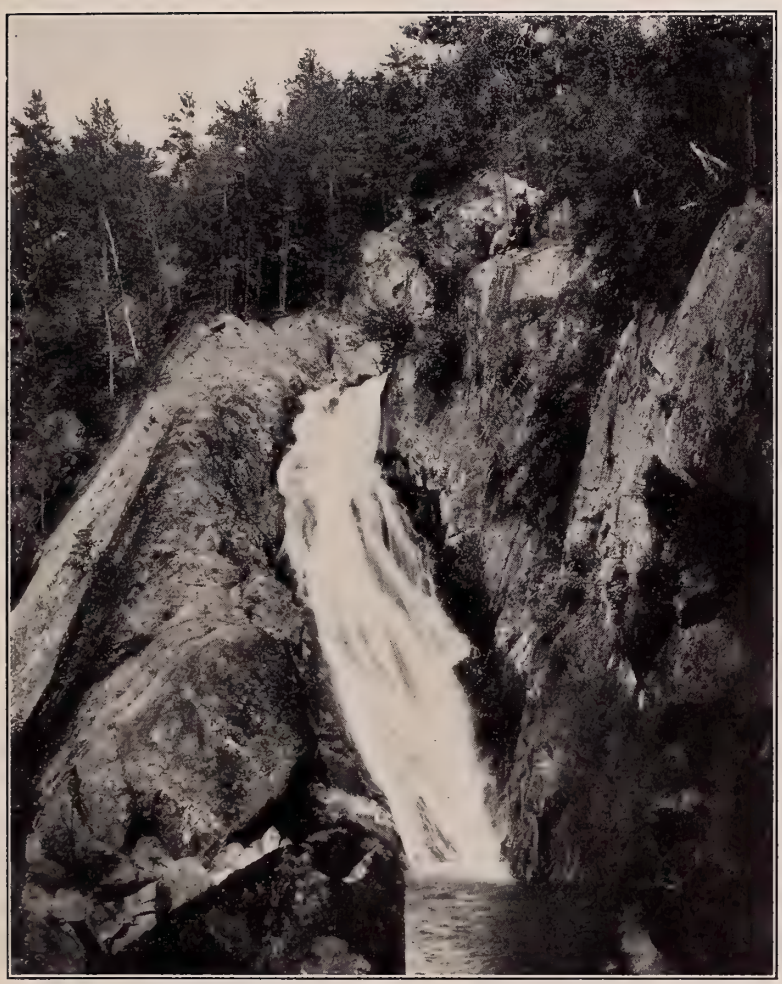
> The Indian road, so called, was the route up Otter Creek to its source, across the ridge of the Green Mountains to the headwaters of the Black and

West rivers; thence it crossed the height of land to the source of Stevens branch, which was followed to the junction with the Winooski River, the latter stream being the route to Lake Champlain.

The trails that skirted the rivers were not only merged into public roads but in several instances became the route of the railroad, notably those in the Connecticut, White and Wells river valleys.

The Bad Indian—While the remark attributed to a famous American General that there is no good Indian but a dead Indian lacks verification, there were throughout New England in the Colonial days both good and bad Indians. The fountain cannot rise higher than its source and the red man inherited some savage traits that were too often exhibited. Cruel by nature and inheritance he became almost a wild beast when filled with whiskey and provided with firearms—both a gift or purchase from the white man. Before King Philip's War the relations between the white man and the Indian were of a friendly nature. John Eliot had wonderful results in christianizing the Indians, and Harvard College erected a building for their accommodation which afterwards became the college printing office, as no Indian came to occupy it. Dartmouth College was the outgrowth of Moore's Charity School for the education of Indian youth, founded by Rev. Dr. Eleazar Wheelock at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754. Fifteen years later the school was moved into the north country that it might be nearer the Indians; a charter was granted to Dartmouth College and Dr. Wheelock became the first president. Most of the efforts of well-meaning white people to improve the conditions of the Indian and civilize him were thwarted by the efforts of the French in Canada to enlist the Indians on their side in their struggle to secure their supremacy over the English.

The Sack of Deerfield—This historic episode with all the sufferings which followed occurred long before the white man had established a residence in Vermont, and is only mentioned here because the route of the one hundred and twelve captives led through our State, following the trails previously mentioned. Led by the French commander, Hertel de Rouville, the party left Canada in the winter of 1703 and reached Deerfield, Massachusetts, the following February. The party consisted of two hundred French soldiers and one hundred and forty Indians of the Mohawk and Abenaki tribes. They came down the Connecticut Valley on snowshoes, sometimes walking on the crust and at other times using the frozen river. When



A GREEN MOUNTAIN WATERFALL NEAR LAKE DUNMORE
TOWN OF BRANDON

they reached the mouth of the West River in the southern part of the State they left the sleds of provisions which had been drawn by the dogs in charge of a small guard, and crossing the Deerfield River soon reached the most northern outpost of civilization and made their awful night attack. Of the town's two hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants all but one hundred and twenty-six were either killed or in the hands of the enemy in that disastrous northward march of three hundred miles into Canada. The whole story of this trip has been told by the pastor of Deerfield, Rev. John Williams, in "The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion" and published in about twenty editions. The Connecticut River was reached the night of the second day's march at the mouth of the West River. Of their first day's journey up the Connecticut Mr. Williams writes:

> When we came to the great river, the enemy took sleighs to draw their wounded, several of our children, and their packs; and marched a great pace. I traveled many hours in water up to the ankles. Near night I was very lame, having before my travel wrenched my ankle-bone and sinews. I thought, so did others, that I should not be able to hold out to travel far. I lifted up my heart to God (my only refuge) to remove my lameness, and carry me through with my children and neighbours, if he judged it best. However, I desired God would be with me in my great change, if he called me by such a death to glorify him; and that he would take care of my children and neighbours, and bless them; and within a little space of time I was well of my lameness, to the joy of my children and neighbours, that saw so great an alteration in my travelling.

The party was on a forced march, for Bellows Falls was soon passed and the travelers reached the mouth of the Williams River on the first Sabbath. Here the parson was allowed to conduct divine service and of this event he writes:

> On the Sabbath we rested, and I was permitted to pray and preach to the captives. The place of Scripture spoken from was Lam. 1:18, "The Lord is righteous for I have rebelled against his commandment: Hear, I pray you, all people, and behold my sorrow: My virgins and my young men are gone into captivity." The enemy, who said to us, sing us one of Zion's songs, were ready, some of them, to upbraid us, because our singing was not so loud as theirs.

At the mouth of the White River the French commander broke up the company into small parties. Parson Williams was with the group that went up the White River and then took the trail to the Winooski. Lake Champlain was reached through the latter river and the party finally after a month arrived at their destination at the little village of Chambly near Montreal. In the meantime his son, Stephen Williams, was in the party that followed the Connecticut

into the north country and after many months of wandering reached the Winooski and joined his father at Chambly. To have this story end happily it may be added that two years later fifty-seven of the captives sailed from Quebec to Boston and Parson Williams returned to Deerfield in December, 1706, where he died in the summer of 1729. One of his grandsons was Dr. Samuel Williams, author of the first history of Vermont and the founder of the "Rutland Herald."

Gray Lock and His Raids—This old Warranoke chief had lived on the Westfield River in Massachusetts before King Philip's War, but when the tribe was dispersed he came into Northwestern Vermont and established a settlement on Missisquoi Bay. From here bands of Indians followed the trails to the borders of civilization southward and for several years the colonists lived in fear of their hostilities. On June 27, 1735, one of these raiding bands attacked Fort Bridgman in Vernon where Mrs. Jemina Howe and her seven children were taken captive. Her husband, Caleb Howe, with several others had left the fort to work in the cornfield. Returning to the fort they were fired upon by the Indians. Mr. Howe was hit and left for dead. The families in the fort heard the firing and later footsteps and knocks on the door. Thinking they were receiving their friends they opened the door to a band of hostile Indians. The women and children were taken prisoners while the fort was plundered and burned. They followed the trail for nine days through Vermont to Crown Point where they went up Lake Champlain. The record says, "they were taken to a place called Missiskow on the borders of the River Missiskow near the north end of Lake Champlain upon the eastern shore." Here they lived and erected a stone church, in the belfry of which was the first bell that ever summoned people to worship in Vermont. Mrs. Howe and the seven children were redeemed. She was a woman of rare beauty and was known as "The Fair Captive." She was married three times, her first and second husbands being killed by the Indians. It is interesting to know that she was one of the grantees of the New Hampshire Grants when they were distributed.

The Captivity of Mrs. Johnson—If the reader thinks that the sufferings of Parson Williams and his companions were unbearable let him contemplate the anxiety and anguish of Mrs. Susannah (Willard) Johnson captured by the Indians at Charlestown, New Hampshire, August 30, 1754. Her story is thrillingly told in the book "The Captivity of Mrs. James Johnson." The story in its gripping pathos is second only to the narrative of the "Redeemed



MT. MANSFIELD (ELEVATION 4,389 FEET, THE HIGHEST IN STATE) FROM UNDERHILL

Captive." The book was first published in Walpole, New Hampshire, in 1796 and is easily worth $100, while the four subsequent editions range in price from $5 to $25. The book is written by herself and was completed a short time before her death at the age of eighty-one years.

She was the daughter of Moses Willard of Lunenburg, Massachusetts, where she was born about 1729. Her mother lived to see twelve children, ninety grandchildren, one hundred and twenty great-grandchildren and four great-great-grandchildren. This is substantiated by a sentence in her narrative where she writes, "My aged mother could say to me, 'Arise, daughter and go to thy daughter, for thy daughter's daughter has got a daughter." When in her teens she made her first visit to Charlestown, No. 4, the most northerly white settlement in New England, and as she approached the settlement of some dozen families she saw a party of rum-filled Indians holding a war dance. This sight greatly frightened her, yet two years after her marriage she came back there to live. One August morning in 1754 a band of Indians entered the town, burst into Captain Johnson's house and seized the seven inmates and rushed them all off, together with a neighbor, on the long march to Canada. Mrs. Johnson and three of her children were driven naked from the house when the mother was about to give birth to another child. The Indians soon gave her some of the clothing they had stolen from the house and at the suggestion of one of the captives captured instead of killing a horse which Mrs. Johnson was allowed to ride. The Connecticut River was crossed seven miles below Charlestown. Mrs. Johnson was placed on a raft and her husband was allowed to swim by her side though he had to push the raft across the river. The first night was spent under the trees in Weathersfield and the "Narrative" tells how the party was made safe from escape in the night:

> The men were made secure in having their legs put in split sticks, somewhat like stocks, and to the limbs of trees too high to be reached. My sister * * * must lie between two Indians, with a cord thrown over her, and passing under each of them. The little children had blankets, and I was allowed one for my use.

The next day they proceeded towards Reading and Mrs. Johnson was so weak that her husband was allowed to march by her side and his principal duty consisted in holding her on to the horse. Her confinement soon followed and is thus pathetically described:

> I was taken with the pangs of childbirth. The Indians signified that we must go on to a brook. When we got there they showed some humanity by

making a booth for me. . . . My children were crying at a distance, where they were held by their masters, and only my husband and sister to attend me,—none but mothers can figure to themselves my unhappy posture. The Indians kept aloof the whole time. About ten o'clock a daughter was born. Then they brought me some articles of clothing for the child, which they had taken from the house. My master looked into the booth and clapped his hands for joy, saying, "two monies for me, two monies for me."

I was permitted to rest for the remainder of the day. The Indians were employed in making a bier for the prisoners to carry me on and another booth for my lodging during the night. They brought a needle and two pins and some bark to tie the child's clothes, which they gave my sister, and a large wooden spoon to feed it with. . . . In the evening I was removed to the new booth.

The child was christened Elizabeth Captive Johnson and the Indian's reference to "two monies" was the double ransom that he hoped to receive from Mrs. Johnson's friends. The sufferings and hardships of the trip to Canada are duly recounted in the book already mentioned. After many months the party reached St. Francis and they remained in Canada four years. Mrs. Johnson was the first to be released and her husband was redeemed in 1758. A year later Mrs. Johnson was back in Charlestown where by another marriage she reared a second family of children. She had fourteen children in all. One of her daughters became the mother of fifteen children, among whom were five at two births.

Elizabeth Captive Johnson developed into a fine young lady and married Colonel George Kimball of Woodstock. One of her great-grandsons is Hon. Franklin Billings, of Woodstock, a former Governor of the State and a member of a distinguished Vermont family.

A monument now stands in Reading where the third white child was born in this State, with this inscription:

This is near the spot that the Indians encamped the night after they took Mr. Johnson and family, Mr. Farnsworth and Mr. Larrabee, August 30, 1754. And Mrs. Johnson was delivered of her child half a mile up this brook. When trouble's near the Lord is kind. He hears the Captive's cry. He can subdue the Savage mind, and learn it sympathy.

On a smaller tablet is this inscription:

On the 31st of August, 1754, Captain Johnson had a daughter born on this spot of ground being captivated with his whole family by the Indians.

How Major Rogers Stopped the Raids—Desultory raids continued for some years, and those living in the northern outposts of civilization never knew when the awful war whoop would pierce the air and pillage and murder would follow. But we are now reaching the last French war in the Connecticut Valley, which ended in a sweeping

victory over the Indians, when Major Robert Rogers and his Rangers attacked the foe in their own homes at St. Francis. The Crown Point military road had been cut through the Green Mountains from the mouth of the West River near Springfield under the direction of General John Stark and Major John Hawks. Between Baltimore and Cavendish is Hawks Mountain, named for one of the leaders of the expedition that camped on the mountain in the fall of 1759. As soon as the road was opened, General Amherst ordered Major Rogers to proceed with his Rangers and attack the Indians in their own stronghold. He was told to remember "the barbarities committed by the enemy's Indian scoundrels on every occasion when they had opportunities of showing their infamous cruelties towards his Majesty's subjects." In taking his revenge he must not hurt any woman or child, "although the villains have promiscuously murdered women and children of all ages."

Major Rogers and his Rangers started from Crown Point. There were about two hundred men in the party, though this was reduced to about one hundred and fifty before the expedition was over. The Rangers rowed up Lake Champlain to the old home of Gray Lock on Missisquoi Bay. Here a small detachment was left to guard the provisions and the rest of the men struck out into the wilderness. Finding that they were pursued, Major Rogers decided to change his homeward route after the village of St. Francis had been destroyed. Therefore he sent a small detachment back to General Amherst, requesting that provisions be sent up the Connecticut River from Charlestown, as the Rangers would return from Canada via Lake Memphremagog and the Connecticut River.

Twenty-two days after leaving Crown Point the village was sighted, and in the darkness of the night Major Rogers, with two of his men, disguised as Indians, entered the village and passed through it undisturbed. The Indians were celebrating a wedding, little suspecting what was soon coming. Dividing the party into three groups, they silently entered the village at three o'clock in the morning and completely surprised the foe. Writing of the attack in his journal, Major Rogers says, "the Rangers marched up to the very doors of the wigwams unobserved, and several squads made choice of the wigwams they would attack. There was little use of the musket. The Rangers leaped into the dwellings and made sure work with the hatchet and knife." In the fierce conflict which followed two hundred Indians were killed. The only invader killed was a friendly Indian in their party; seven Rangers were wounded, including an officer. A gruesome sight met the eyes of the Rangers

when dawn came, as they saw waving on poles over six hundred scalps of their countrymen. No wonder they immediately burned all their wigwams in the village except three used for their own use, and many women and children perished in the flames, though none were deliberately injured or killed.

They left the village soon after its destruction for the long journey home, taking with them five Englishmen who had been kept there as prisoners and nearly two hundred Indian captives. They followed the old trail towards the Connecticut, but owing to scarcity of provisions Major Rogers divided his party into small bands. Some of these groups were killed or captured by the Indians, but most of them eventually reached the Connecticut River. When the foremost party reached the spot where they expected to find the provisions ordered sent up from Charlestown a tragic surprise awaited them, for they found fires burning but no provisions and no relief party. Lieutenant Samuel Stevens had been sent up the river with boats and provisions, and after waiting two days for the Rangers burned all the supplies and returned down the river. For this outrageous conduct he was dismissed from the service.

It has never been determined just where this spot was located. Some of the survivors stated it was on the island where the Passumpsic empties into the Connecticut below the village of East Barnet. Others are as firm in their belief that it was at the mouth of the Ammonoosuc, a few miles farther south. The men were so overcome with hunger that they could not recall the exact spot, and the bones found by the early settlers of Newbury only three years later may have been some of that unfortunate party.

But Major Rogers, with three of his men, came down the Connecticut on a raft and sent provisions back to such of the party that could be found. One of that celebrated band was Captain Benjamin Wait, for whom the town of Waitsfield was named, as well as a small river in Orange County.

The expedition of Major Rogers was the death blow of the Indian raids, and peace finally reigned in the Connecticut Valley.

Joe, the Friendly Indian—It is indeed a pleasant task to pass from relating the atrocities of the red man to a brief consideration of the good Indians. There must have been many of them, as the meager records of those early days refer to friendly visits to the log huts and cabins of the settler where gifts were exchanged and the social amenities of the day enjoyed. Some Indians rendered great service as spies or emissaries to negotiate peace instead of war. Many legendary tales have come down to us about individual Indians, but the



PISGAH MOUNTAIN FROM THE PIAZZA OF PISGAH LODGE AT THE SOUTH END OF WILLOUGHBY LAKE

experiences of Indian Joe have an authenticity that some others lack.

He was born in Nova Scotia and served in Captain John Vincent's company of St. Francis Indians in 1777-78. After the surrender of Montreal, Captain Jacob Bayley and Captain John Hazen, who had served in Goff's regiment during the decisive campaign, came to Newbury. Two Indian families followed these two pioneers of the Coos country—John and Joe, known to the settlers as Captain John and Captain Joe.

Captain Joe was a young man at this time, and because his tribe had been scattered when Louisburg was taken he vowed eternal hatred to the "Red Coats." He rejoiced in their subsequent defeats at the hands of the American forces. In fact, his antipathy to the King of England was so deep-seated that he never entered his domains again. The crafty Indians of his scattered tribe often tried to lure him back to Canada, but they tried in vain. Once when Captain Joe and Molly, his wife, were near the Canadian border on a hunting trip they pitched their wigwam where the town of Derby is now located. The Indians came over the boundary, stealing his wife and carrying her back to Canada. But Joe never followed them, and in a short time Molly returned to her husband.

It was on this hunting trip that Indian Joe followed a big moose two days through the dense woods, but just as he got near enough to shoot the moose it crashed its way through the forests into Canada. Stopping short in his pursuit, Joe shouted "Goodbye, Mr. Moose," and later returned to his home in Newbury.

Joe and Molly wandered for many years up and down the upper Connecticut Valley disturbed by no one, as they never harmed the white man. Many stories have come down from father to son of Indian Joe's sayings and doings, and this one shows that the Indian possessed a keen sense of humor.

Captain Joe happened to be in Newbury at the time of one of the sessions of the Vermont court. He drifted into the tavern and was deeply impressed with the dignity of the judges and the service of the waiters at meal time. Returning to his wigwam with all the dignity he could command, he found that Molly had just roasted a woodchuck for dinner. Seating himself at their little table with great decorum, he said, with unusual authority:

"Molly, put woodchuck on table."

The order was promptly obeyed.

"Molly, take woodchuck off; set him on ground."

She meekly obeyed. After regarding it a few moments in silence, he issued this command in even sterner manner:

"Molly, take woodchuck up; put on table."

Having concluded that enough courses had been served, he then began his frugal repast.

Joe and Molly once visited General Washington at his headquarters in Newburgh, New York. There they were presented to the General, and, after the officers had withdrawn, had dinner at Washington's table. This was the outstanding event in his life, and he was much gratified by the attention shown him by the great American.

But after the death of his wife old Joe did not fare so well, often suffering with cold and hunger. Fifty years ago there was living in the town of Newbury a lady who distinctly recalled how Joe used to drop in at her father's house during the lonely days of his old age. He would ask for a needle with which to prick the blisters on his frozen fingers, and she, being a child, would hand it to him at arm's length, being a little afraid of this emaciated redskin.

About this time the State of Vermont granted him a pension for his past services in pointing out the trails to the early settlers and the Revolutionary soldiers. This pension was later increased to $70 a year, which was quite a sum of money in those days. As he had no idea of the value of his stipend, Colonel Frye Bayley, of Newbury, was appointed guardian.

Indian Joe died at the Bayley home in Newbury, February 19, 1819, at the supposed age of eighty years. Most of the men in Newbury attended his funeral, and his loaded gun was discharged over his grave. He is buried in the Ox Bow Cemetery in Newbury, along with the bodies of eighty heroes of the Revolutionary War, not far from the grave of General Jacob Bayley, Newbury's most distinguished pioneer.

His grave is marked by a marble slab erected by some of the patriotic residents of Newbury. It bears the simple and truthful inscription, "Joe, the Friendly Indian."

CHAPTER III

PIONEER DAYS AND CUSTOMS

"Their best companions, innocence and health,
And their best riches, ignorance of wealth.
Then happy they who crown, in shades like these,
A youth of labor with an age of ease."

Adventures of Some of the Early Settlers—The pioneers that came into the north country about one hundred and fifty years ago made the long journey amid hardship and danger. Those that came up the Connecticut in flat boats, rafts and crudely fashioned boats brought some livestock and a few household goods. Those that paddled up the river in canoes had a hazardous passage, with occasional deaths from drowning in trying to make the rapids. Others kept to the old Indian trails, finding in some instances spotted trees to point the way through the great forests. General William Barton, with half a dozen companions, walked all the way from Providence, Rhode Island, to the town named for him in Orleans County—a distance of over two hundred and fifty miles. In 1794 he had cleared three or four acres of the virgin forest, cut down fifteen more acres and built a one-room log cabin without a floor or a chimney. The following summer he raised about fifty bushels of wheat on the land he had cleared the previous year.

James and his brother, Abraham Whitehill, came from Inchinan, Scotland, and settled on six hundred acres of Ryegate's wooded land in 1798. Their first homes were log cabins, but they later built stone houses. The house built by Abraham Whitehill is still standing, and occupied by his great-grandson, Nelson C. Whitehill. The original fireplace, the spinning wheel, the family Bible and many rare articles of furniture are still there. Nearby is the site of the log cabins, the kiln in which the mortar was made for the stone houses, with the hawthorne growing that was brought over from the old country by the two Scotchmen.

In 1764 a small party left Lancaster, Massachusetts, for the north country. Coming up the great river, they found quite a settlement at Newbury and continued on their journey, until they located on what is now Lancaster, New Hampshire. They pitched their camps on both sides of the Connecticut, and, after clearing the land, began planting corn. The first year they planted seventeen acres, the first crop of Indian corn ever raised in that section. Emmons Stockwell, a member of the party, described it as being full of milk and standing

twelve feet high, the ears being as high as his shoulders. But on August 27 a severe frost killed their first beautiful crop. They brought up the river twenty head of cattle, and this herd nearly doubled the first season. But misfortune still followed them, as they lost them all during the winter, owing to the destruction of their corn by the frost. Their first houses were temporary camps or cabins, but the next year they built more substantial homes.

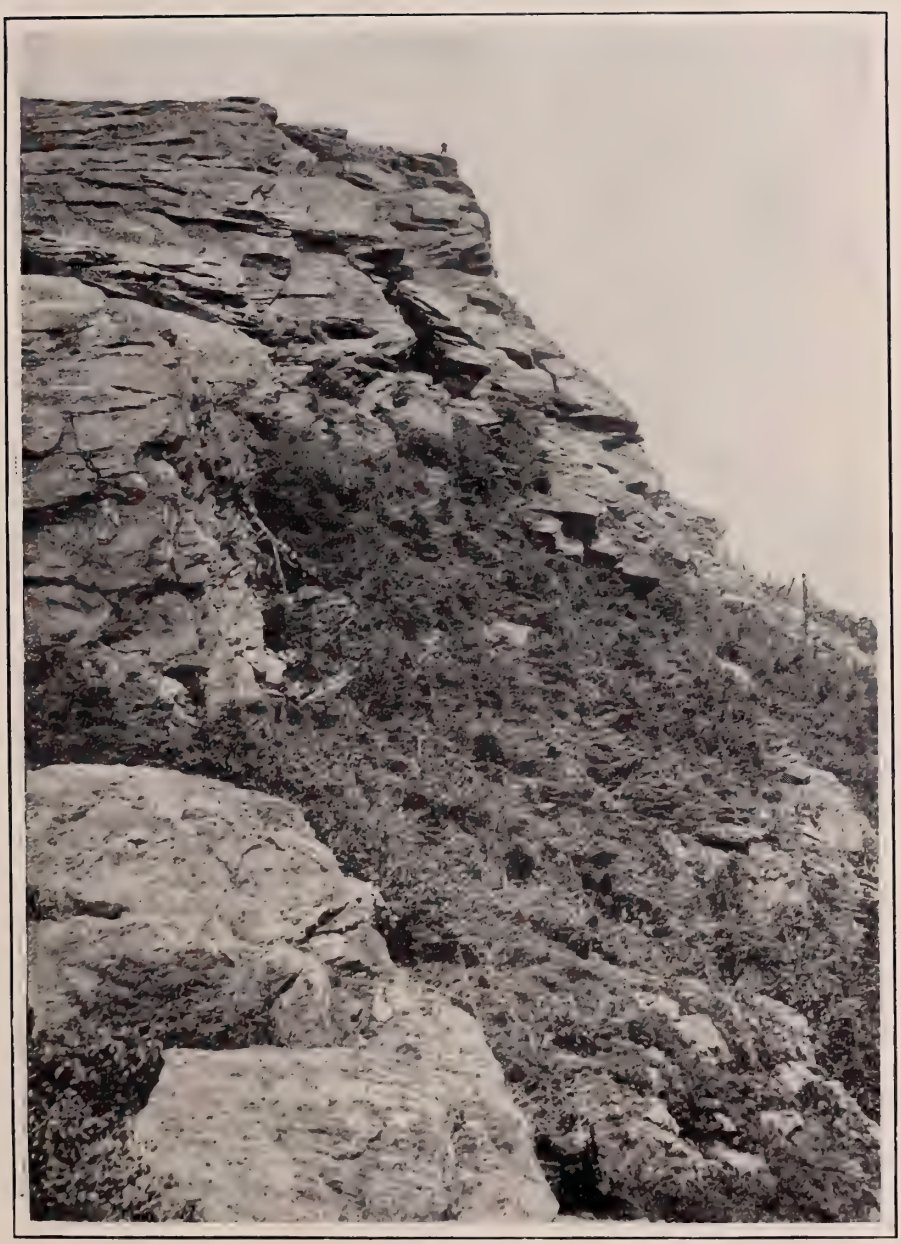
Most of Vermont, except the meadow lands that bordered the rivers, was an unbroken forest where the trees reached a great height. Trees were felled in the dense woods bordering the Connecticut opposite Norwich that measured three hundred feet. These were freighted down the river to make masts for the sailing vessels.

Jonathan Arnold's Stunt—The founder of St. Johnsbury was Dr. Jonathan Arnold, one of Rhode Island's leading citizens, who came to the wilderness in 1787. Clearing a little land, he planted it with corn "in the Indian manner," potatoes, squashes, beans, cucumbers and turnips. In July ten more acres were chopped and sowed with oats and wheat mixed with clover. He thus writes his father of his task:

> This work I did all by hand, not having one minute of ox-work about it. I have chopped besides the above on my homestead lot about 26 acres and girdled 30 acres more, so that I have an opening of 43 acres besides the girdled land to begin on next spring.
>
> I laboured under great disadvantage in making this beginning; the nearest mill was ten miles off, and most of my provisions I brought from 26-30 miles off; being under necessity of making a log canoe 30 feet long to freight in my stores by the river which was rapid and had several carrying places to pass.
>
> When I had chopped as much as I judged prudent I employed my hands in making roads and bridges and in surveying townships. I have cut out 16 miles of roads, dug and bridged where necessary; one bridge I built 12 feet high and covered 80 feet long. I was at one time ten nights successively in the woods without shelter on the business of roads; not one man was sick, and I believe there is not anywhere a more healthy country.

Town histories and the pages of the "Hemenway Gazetteer" are filled with just such experiences as Dr. Arnold has related, indicating the splendid zeal of our forebears to open up a new country and lay the foundations of our great little State.

Ravages of the Wild Animals—Nature, though sometimes cruel, was also kind to the pioneers, tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. If the wild beasts destroyed their livestock, the rivers and streams teemed with fish and the woods abounded in game. The rod and the



WESTERN APPROACH TO THE CLIFF, CAMEL'S HUMP, A MOUNTAIN REACHED FROM THE VICINITY OF WATERBURY, VERMONT

gun were often used to replenish the scanty larder when crops failed or their stock had been killed by four-footed marauders. The streams not only contained the kinds of fish the sportsman finds today, but salmon and shad came up the Connecticut in great numbers. These were caught by the Indians in curiously constructed weirs. The bear rarely harmed a human being, unless in defense of its cubs, but it was constantly destroying the cornfields and killing cattle, sheep and hogs. Incidents are recorded where the bear was an unwelcome visitor in the home, and mothers used to warn their children of the awful fate of the children that mocked the prophet Elisha. Bear meat was a staple article of food; the skins were always in demand, but for many years the State paid a bounty. Captain Nathaniel Whitney, of Marlboro, killed a bear in 1773 that weighed, when dressed, 466 pounds, an exceptionally heavy specimen. He must have been a mighty hunter, as he had a record of killing one hundred bear and deer, fourteen wolves and one moose.

The settlers suffered more from the ravages of the wolves than they did from bears, and the howling of the pack in the night terrified the inhabitants almost as much as the Indian's war whoop. Sheep were their favorite victim, man being rarely attacked except when impelled by hunger. The raising of sheep was so difficult that the Legislature placed a bounty of $20 on the wolf. They have long since disappeared, though bears still roam our woods.

The largest member of the lynx family was the catamount, which often weighed one hundred pounds. They were frequent visitors to the sheepfold and the fiercest of all the wild animals. The fighting qualities of the catamount may be realized from this incident given by Samuel Williams in the 1809 edition of his history:

> Some years ago one of these animals was killed at Bennington. It took a large calf out of a pen, where the fence was four feet high, and carried it off upon its back. With this load, it ascended a ledge of rocks where one of the leaps was fifteen feet in height. The hunters found the cat upon an high tree. Discharging his musket one of them wounded it in the leg. It descended with the greatest agility and fury; did not attack the men, but seized their dog by one of his ribs, broke it off in the middle, and instantly leaped up the tree again with astonishing swiftness and dexterity. The other hunter shot him through the head, but his fury did not cease but with the last remains of his life.

The Passing of the Moose—Moose were plentiful in these early years, their meat furnishing most palatable food. They roamed all over the State; eighteen were counted on the shores of Caspian Lake, in Greensboro, one summer. But in 1850 they had disappeared, except in Essex County, and even in very recent years one has occa-

sionally strayed down from Canada into the woods. Jacob Fowler, of Montpelier, caught his moose in a bear trap. He made a trap that weighed thirty pounds, with teeth an inch long. The teeth caught the moose through the fetlock of one of his feet, holding him fast until the hunter arrived and killed him by a blow on the head. The Davis family, in passing from Waterbury over Worcester Mountain, when the snow was nearly five feet deep, found a yard of five moose imprisoned by the impassable crusted snowfalls, and killed them all. This was more than the party could carry off, so Thomas Davis salted one of the animals down, dug a deep trough in a hemlock log and buried the moose therein, securely fitting a basswood slab into the top as a cover. Returning to the spot the next spring, he found the moose all safe, and the family enjoyed corned moose meat through the summer.

As the moose began to disappear the deer multiplied, though the settlers found a pretty good supply of venison all the time. A good story comes from Pawlet concerning Elisha Pratt. While reading the Bible one Sunday morning his wife saw a fine buck in the cornfield. Handing him his gun, she said, "There is a noble buck out there and we are almost starving. Had you better not shoot him?" "No," he replied, "the Lord hath sustained us and kept us alive thus far, and if it His will that we shall have that deer to keep us from starving He will cause it to come back some other day." His faith was well grounded, as the deer came back a few days later and was quickly killed.

An awful calamity spread over the Connecticut Valley in the summer of 1770, in a visitation of worms that extended their ravages from Northfield, Massachusetts, to Lancaster, New Hampshire. Not content with completely devouring the ripening crops, they even entered the homes, as did the frogs of Egypt. All the corn and wheat in this region was quickly destroyed, but, fortunately, the pests did not touch the potatoes, pumpkins, peas and flax. Jonathan Tyler, of Piermont, a railroad station in Bradford with the town across the Connecticut, related that the settlements in that town were left without the means of subsistence from their own farms. His father drew hay on a hand sled from the Ox Bow in Newbury to support his cow the following winter. Only the great crop of pumpkins saved the people from actual starvation. These were floated across the Connecticut in great rafts. But the most interesting feature of this strange and awful visitation, all graphically related in the "History of the Coos Country," by Rev. Grant Powers, is that a kind Providence sent into the devastated region thousands of wild pigeons—un-

doubtedly the now extinct passenger pigeon. "Nothing could exceed their number," says Mr. Powers, "unless it was the worms which had preceded them." Three Piermont men captured four hundred dozen in ten days, and all the community were invited to a pigeon "bee."

The Early Industries—These included sawmills, grist-mills, carding mills, starch factories, tanneries, potteries and potasheries. The latter were found in every locality. As fast as the forests were cleared the wood was burned for the ashes, which were leached and boiled down into potash. Sometimes the refining process was continued until a product known as pearlash was produced. Ashes were in great demand, and were often the medium of exchange, as money was scarce and barter prevailed.

The Domestic Life—"The women manufactured nearly all the cloth that was used—clothing and blankets from wool, and linen from flax. As early as 1786 the Legislature passed a law providing that for the encouragement of domestic manufacture the owner of sheep should be credited on his list two shillings for every pound of wool shorn, and one shilling for every yard of linen or tow cloth manufactured. The law was followed by excellent results. Men and women wore garments made from these homespun materials almost exclusively, except that a few wealthy gentlemen adorned themselves with beaver hat, silk stockings and velvet small-clothes, while each woman had one calico dress for state occasions, a scarlet cloak, a string of gold beads and a muff and tippet of huge dimensions. The ordinary dress for the men included two shirts, homespun frock and breeches and leather apron. Boots were rare and stockings were only worn in winter or at church and other public gatherings. The women, to save wear, carried their shoes and stockings in their hands until near the meeting-house, when they would put them on. The household articles were of the scantiest proportions and most rudimentary description—a kettle or two, a few pewter plates and wooden trenchers, and two or three knives, forks and spoons. Cooking, which was very far from being a fine art, was done in front of fireplaces, in skillets and on griddles that stood upon legs, so that coals could be put under them, and in pots and kettles that hung over the fire on a swinging crane. Sometimes there was an oven for baking built in the side of the chimney. Meat was roasted on a spit in front of the fire. The spit was an iron rod thrust through the piece to be roasted and turned by a crank. A whole pig or fowl was sometimes hung up before the fire and turned about while it roasted.

Often pieces of meat were broiled by throwing them on the live coals."

The Prince of Wales Gets a Kiss and a Kick—The early settlers were noted for their hospitality, but did not propose to have it carried too far. D. P. Thompson relates an amusing episode in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales on his journey from Montreal to Boston, referring to this scion of royalty as "the son of the bigoted and muddy-brained George III, a true chip of the old basswood block." The Prince in his journey through Vermont from Montreal to Boston, stopped at the house of a shoemaker where he made a short call. He had become so much at home on this trip that he kissed the shoemaker's wife. Noting her resentment, he added jocosely, "Oh, never mind, you can now tell your people you have had the honor of being kissed by a British Prince." The irate husband unceremoniously kicked the royal visitor outdoors with this parting shot, "Oh, never mind, sir; you can now go home and tell your people you have had the honor of being kicked out of doors by an American cobbler."

Primitive Surgery—An old settler said to one of the town historians, "We were wonderfully healthy and strong. Rarely was anyone ailing, and the doctors found mighty poor picking." But when accidents occurred it was not always easy to find a doctor, and primitive measures were adopted in more than one instance. In the winter of 1788 Timothy Stanley lost a portion of his foot by frost in attempting to attend a meeting of the proprietors of Greensboro and Cabot. For the lack of surgical instruments, the lower part of his foot was removed by means of a mallet and a chisel. The chronicler declared that the operation was entirely successful.

Lotteries Authorized for Many Purposes—Vermont, in common with many other States, had lotteries that were authorized by the Legislature and sanctioned by almost everybody. From 1783 to 1804 charters were granted for twenty-four of these enterprises that have long since been outlawed throughout the United States. Some of them were to raise money for building roads and bridges; one was to assist in building the court house at Rutland, and two were to start breweries. Some of them were for the benefit of individual citizens—one to reimburse a man for a fire, and another to a blind man to raise funds to go to Europe for treatment. The Legislature of 1794 was petitioned to grant a lottery for a Brandon church—"for the purpose of building a meeting house for the public worship of God in said town." The petition was denied.



BENNING WENTWORTH, ROYAL GOVERNOR

Liquor in General Use—The growth and success of the temperance movement in Vermont will be considered in another chapter, but in these days there was a very general use of liquor. It was sanctioned by the best people of the State. Governor-elect Moses Robinson in 1789 was escorted on his trip from Bennington to Westminster to assume his official duties by the militia, furnishing them with a "cheerful bottle" from which fourteen toasts were drunk. In marching from New Hampshire with his troops to the battle of Bennington, General John Stark wrote the authorities of his State, "As there is but very little Rum in the Store here, if some could be forwarded to us it would oblige us very much, as there is none of that article in them parts where we are going." And a few days later he sent out a more urgent appeal, "I would pray you to forward with all convenient speed all the rum and sugar that is in Mr. White's store. Be sure to employ careful Teamsters to transport them."

Rum had to be provided for every contractor in his building operations, no exception being made in the case of churches. When the town of Tunbridge decided to build a church it voted that the committee should "clear a spot by making a bee and find rum at the expense of the town." The next year it voted "to raise the house at the expense of the town, but the committee to find two barrels of rum out of the meeting house funds." The contract for building the first church in St. Johnsbury in 1803 was awarded to John and Nahum Stiles for $180, "to be paid in wheat at cash price the first day of January next. Ten gallons of rum to be allowed said Stiles. Exclusive of the above price." The raising of the meeting-house was also a scene of much hilarity, and is truthfully related by the historian of the town, the Rev. Dr. Edward T. Fairbanks:

> All the men and boys were there to put up the timbers, and women and girls to give cheer and mix the toddy. The crowning event of the day, as reported to me by an eye witness, then in his ninety-first year, was the balancing of Zibe Tute on his head at the end of the ridge pole, swallowing the contents of his flask and descending head downwards to the ground.

That liquor was also used at other church functions appears in the records of the council that installed Rev. James Johnson pastor of the North Congregational Church at St. Johnsbury, February 28, 1827—"This council, highly approving of the example of councils on similar occasions, and desirous of lending their aid for the suppression of the alarming sin of intemperance, unanimously voted that they would on all such occasions wholly dispense with the use of ardent spirits and wines."

Liquor was the popular beverage at all social functions and holiday observances, and an ode composed for the Fourth of July had great vogue. These lines give a hint of the festive occasion:

"Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
Independence day has come!
Quickly rub the pewter platter,
Heap the nutcakes fried in butter;
Set the cups, and beaker glass,
The pumpkin and apple sauce;
Send the keg to shop for brandy—
Maple sugar we have handy.

Jotham, get the great case bottle,
Your teeth can pull the corn-cob stopple;
Ensign—Deacon, never mind;
Squire, drink until you're blind.

Thus we drink and dance away
This glorious Independence Day."

Composed by Royall Tyler, the American essayist, Donald G. Mitchell, says, "This is written in the full spirit of the noisy jollities that belonged to old Fourth of July in the country districts of New England; it is typical also of the humorsome side of our patriotic literature at the close of the last century; and we should relish it all the more as coming from the pen of a man who in 1800 was elected Chief Justice of Vermont."

The Church and the School—Though lotteries were countenanced and the use of liquor was very common, it must not be inferred that the morale of the people was lowered. It must be remembered that the settlers of Vermont were descendants of the Puritans of southern New England, and, like their ancestors, they feared God and kept His commandments. The home was the center of the limited social life of this early period, and it was generally well filled with children who honored their father and their mother. The first schoolhouses were in the homes. Later came the school buildings where the "three R's" were taught, and these were followed by secondary schools of learning and the university and the college.

In the opening of a town provision was always made for the building of a church and the support of a minister. The first transaction of the first public meeting in Bennington, February 11, 1762, was the appointment of a Committee of Seven "to look out a place to set the meeting house." The earliest grants of land came from Benning



OLD CHURCH AND FIRST CHURCH MARKER, BENNINGTON

Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, and he was a consistent member of the Church of England. "In the grants of land made by him, there were three rights in each township reserved for religious purposes. One to the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts; one for a glebe, designed for the use of an Episcopal clergy; a third for the first settled minister." One of the first acts passed by the Legislature when Vermont became an independent State was one in 1780, which empowered the towns to levy taxes for both building meeting-houses and supporting ministers. Subsequent acts required these ministers to be of the denomination favored by the majority of the inhabitants. Not until 1807 were all laws uniting Church and State repealed. When the land was allotted to the inhabitants of a town there were generous reservations for school lands and for ministerial lands, the latter being known as glebes. Many towns are still receiving annual rentals for school lands, while the rental from the glebe lands is divided among the various denominations in the town.

Early Religious Services and Churches—As early as 1642 Father Jacques and other Jesuit missionaries visited Isle la Motte, where, in 1665, a fort was built called St. Anne. To this historic shrine and fortification came Bishop Laval in 1668, being the first Bishop to set foot on United States territory. The first Protestant service held in the State was at the mouth of the Williams River, in March, 1704, when Rev. John Williams, whose captivity by the Indians has already been related, preached a sermon to the remnant of his flock on their weary march to Canada. The first organized church was at Bennington, in 1762. This building, like many other meeting-houses in other places, was not always used for religious purposes. It was in this Bennington church, for want of room in the court house, that the famous trial was held of Whitney and Tibbits, charged with the murder of an Indian. The history of the planting of churches belongs to another chapter in this book, but mention should be made of that historic shrine on a hill in Rockingham built in 1787 to replace a smaller building erected in 1774. For forty-two years this Congregational church was the religious center of the community and for eighty-two years it served as the town's meeting place. Abandoned for regular church services in 1839, it was restored to its original condition in 1906, and since 1907 there have been annual pilgrimages to this shrine, with notable addresses from prominent laymen and eminent divines from all parts of the United States.

In Rockingham upon the hill
The meeting house shines lone and still;
A bare, star-cleaving gable-peak,
Broad roofbeamed, snow-ribbed, stark and bleak,
As long ago their needs sufficed
Who came from cottage fires to Christ,
Sharing with frosty breath
Their footstoves and their faith.

—PERCY McKAYE.



CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF VERMONT

Come York or come Hampshire—come traitors and knaves;
If ye rule o'er our land, ye shall rule o'er our graves;
Our vow is recorded—our banner unfurled;
In the name of Vermont we defy all the world.
—JOHN G. WHITTIER.

"The first settlement of Vermont, and the early struggles of its inhabitants, not only in subduing a wilderness but establishing an independent government, afford some of the most remarkable incidents in American history," says Sparks, in his "American Biography." Volumes have been written on the few decades embraced in this interesting period of a play for a State, and in a single chapter only the high spots can be touched. It will always remain, however, the most dramatic period in our history. Though furnishing the historian with rich material, the orator for many a patriotic theme, and the novelist with many a plot, yet truth is stranger than fiction. From the granting of the first lands in 1749 until Vermont became an independent State in 1777 our ancestors had to defend their titles of land not from hostile Indians, but from land speculators armed with legal ejectment papers, and from the rather unfriendly rivalry of the neighboring States—New Hampshire and New York.

Failure of the French Colonization—Mention has been made of the fact that a French navigator, Samuel de Champlain, discovered Vermont, and in the century that followed there were many attempts to colonize the country by grants issued from the French Government. The Richelieu River and Lake Champlain was the natural thoroughfare, too often traversed by hostile bands of Indians, and the French, after establishing defenses along the river, came into Vermont and built at Isle La Motte, Fort St. Anne. This was about 1666, and for five years it was maintained as a military garrison. Then it was destroyed by the French themselves, but the site of the old fort is still a shrine. "Swanton had a half-breed settlement, perhaps, from 1700 to 1760. Over there on Windmill Point, in Alburg, in 1730, the French tried hard to keep a foothold, but it was soon abandoned. The same year or the next they began their southern Gibraltar at Crown Point, in Fort St. Frederic, and there at Chimney

Point on the eastern shore, a musket-shot away, a little French village sprang up and flourished for twenty or thirty years. But that is all the tale. The rest is given to the flames—like old Fort Carillon that afterwards became Ticonderoga." Thus did Judge Wendell P. Stafford picturesquely describe the French occupation in his brilliant address at Isle La Motte at the tercentenary celebration of Lake Champlain in the summer of 1909. Time has wrought many changes in the passing centuries, but Millard F. Barnes still occupies his ancestral home at Chimney Point, where now a million-dollar steel bridge spans the narrowing waters of Lake Champlain—a friendly bond of union between two States that once were literally at swords' points, as later appears in this chapter.

Known as French seignories, various grants were issued in the Champlain Valley, but the grantees became discouraged and the settlements were gradually abandoned. Major Peter Schuyler, in a journal describing his trip through the lake, found "Fort la Motte several years deserted" when he arrived there on August 26, 1691. The conquest of England over France, so decisively decided at Quebec, ended all the attempts of the French to establish colonies in Vermont. In the twentieth century, and even before, there has been a steady influx of French Canadians into Vermont, especially in the northern part. They came here with their families for a permanent home, soon became American citizens, and are prominent today in all walks of life.

The First English Settlements—Massachusetts built the first outpost when Fort Dummer was erected, in 1724, in what is now Brattleboro. The Bay State claimed jurisdiction for forty miles up the Connecticut from the State line of today, building the blockhouse to protect the residents of the valley below. Lieutenant Timothy Dwight, of Northampton, Massachusetts, the ancestor of the great president of Yale by the same name, had the work in charge and supposed he had built it "Indian-proof." But only a few months after its completion a band of seventy Indians swooped down from the north, attacked the garrison, killing and wounding several men. After that it was protected by a stockade twelve feet high. Other blockhouses were built further up the river, one at Vernon and several others on the New Hampshire side of the river. The one known as Charlestown, Number Four, was the farthest northern outpost until about 1760. Farming was still a hazardous occupation, as the men in the fields had to have their guns handy to kill the prowling wolves, lynxes, and bears that came to feast on their livestock, or to defend themselves and their firesides against hostile Indian raids.

Massachusetts Releases Its Claims to Vermont Territory—Before the long-drawn-out controversy between New York and New Hampshire over the dominion of the territory between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain, sovereignty of the land in the vicinity of Fort Dummer was claimed by both Massachusetts and New Hampshire. This mooted question was peacefully decided by a royal decree, issued by George II, March 5, 1740, which declared "that the northern boundary of the Province of Massachusetts be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of the Merrimac River, at three miles distant on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due north of Patucket Falls, and a straight line drawn from thence due west until it meets His Majesty's other governments." The survey the following year by Richard Hazen brought Fort Dummer and the other adjacent settlements outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. So acting under the assumption that New Hampshire extended as far west as did Massachusetts, or within twenty miles of the Hudson River, the King recommended the control of the new settlements to the New Hampshire Assembly.

Governor Wentworth's Grants—Having secured the King's decree over the control of the new territory, Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire soon started on a colonization scheme of vast proportions. Reserving five hundred acres in each new township thus granted for himself, always making the usual allotments for schools, churches and missionary enterprises, the New Hampshire Governor greatly enriched his private purse, while at the same time he played square with all the grantees. His first grant, in 1749, of six square miles was made in territory which he confidently believed was on the western boundary of New Hampshire, and the town of Bennington was founded and named for him. By 1754 sixteen townships had been thus established, and before his colonization scheme was thwarted by interference from New York one hundred and thirty-eight towns had been established all over the State. It is quite likely that New York interfered that they too might share in the profits from the sale of these virgin lands, and that it was to a large extent a mercenary motive that led to a bitter controversy that lasted for about forty years. This is well substantiated by these statements in Judge Wendell P. Stafford's address before the Society of Colonial Dames at Montpelier, October 24, 1900:

> Outrageous as her course was, the reasons and motives which prompted it made it more outrageous still. The great feudal families that had plundered and pillaged New York for a century had well-nigh exhausted that territory, and

were looking for new lands to divide up. Colonel Nicholas Bayard, member of the Council, had had a grant of fifty fertile miles along riverside, to yield and pay therefor the magnificent rental of one otter skin a year. The Rev. Godfrey Dellius, minister at Albany, with four others took a grant fifty miles in length by four in breadth along the Mohawk River, two miles on each side of it, (oh, ministers were modest in those days!) with a quit rent of one beaver skin per annum for the first seven years and five beaver skins a year forever after. And this same minister, whose Christian name was Godfrey instead of Godly, got another tract seventy miles long by twelve miles wide on Hudson River, bounded on the south by the present city of Saratoga, and in return therefor undertook to see that the King had one raccoon skin every year. The governors did not forget themselves. They granted vast tracts to figureheads who the next day deeded back to them. And when they made mistakes they exacted enormous fees for the patent, which seldom found their way to the royal exchequer. But the greatest objection that New Englanders could have to these dishonest grants was that they placed the earth in the hands of men who were unwilling to divide and sell it, but were determined to people it with a dependent tenantry. It meant feudalism.

Land Jobbers and Land Speculators—These unscrupulous New York grafters expected to reap a rich harvest in securing lands already bought and paid for. When men of this stamp appeared in the new towns, accompanied by sheriffs and other officers, you may easily see that the settlers were ready "to defy all the world." Though there was little actual bloodshed, there was plenty of stiff opposition, and to the everlasting credit of the settlers be it said that few of them gave up their homes. The reader who may be interested in a full account of the stirring events of this period will find in Slade's "Vermont State Papers" and Hiland Hall's "History of Vermont" a rich mine of information. The former book is a compilation of the official documents of the war of the grants; the latter is a history that brings the story up to Vermont's admission to the Union. Both men were leaders in their day and generation; both served in Congress and both were Governors of this State.

The Correspondence of Two Governors—Like the story in the reader of the boy in the farmer's apple tree, where the farmer first threw grass at the boy, and, failing to dislodge the intruder, followed it with stones, the controversy was carried along on paper for some time, in a series of letters between Governor Wentworth and Governor Clinton of New York. The latter finding this question could not be settled on paper finally adopted more forceful measures, which, however, did not dislodge many of the Vermont settlers. New York founded her claims to the lands by issuing a proclamation in 1763, reciting the grants made by Charles II to the Duke of York, which included "all the lands from the west side of Connecticut River to

Delaware Bay." The Governor of New Hampshire countered by declaring the grant of the Duke of York obsolete, warning the colonists not to be intimidated by any threats from New York. Abandoning the rather flimsy claim from the Duke of York, the New York government played another card, by sending a petition to the English Crown, purporting to be signed by a number of the settlers, which recited the advantages of being annexed to New York, and praying that the west bank of the Connecticut River be established as the eastern boundary of the Province. This petition was granted, and the settlers, and even Governor Wentworth, acquiesced in the decision, and would not have resisted the authority of their new master if New York had played fair.

New York's Land-Grabbing Policy—Having authority over the new townships, New York began to exercise it; first by establishing Cumberland County, which included what is now Windham County and parts of Windsor and Orange counties. Courts were established and held at Chester; later the county seat was moved to Westminster, where a court house and jail were built. New York continued to organize the new territory by establishing Gloucester County on the north, with Newbury as the county seat, and Charlotte County on the west. The southeast portion of the territory was made a part of the county of Albany, with the county seat at what is now Whitehall, New York, then known as Skeensborough. This organization of counties remained until Vermont became an independent State in 1777. In the meantime, the settlers had sent Samuel Robinson, of Bennington, over to London to confirm the New Hampshire titles. Unfortunately, he died of smallpox in London, October 27, 1767, before his mission was completed, but he did succeed in getting a decree forbidding the Governor of New York to make any further grants of the lands in question.

The Capture of Remember Baker—Space does not permit the recounting of all the attacks and counter attacks when haughty New York officials tried to dispossess the settlers, even offering a reward of twenty pounds each for the arrest of Ethan Allen, Remember Baker and seven others. Inspired by this offer, John Munro, a New York sheriff, assisted by well-armed associates, forcibly entered the home of Remember Baker, at Arlington, before daybreak on March 22, 1772, and in the mêlée which followed Baker, his wife and one of his sons received severe sword cuts. Baker was bound and placed in a sleigh headed for Albany, but a force of ten Bennington volunteers chasing the party on horseback soon overtook them. The New

York official abandoned his prisoner, fled to Albany and reported to the Governor that "he has reason to be thankful to Divine Providence for the preservation of his life and that of his party." Munro's next attempt to kidnap Seth Warner was also unsuccessful, as the Vermonter stunned him on the head by a blow from a cutlass, and Warner was permitted to proceed on his business. For this act the town of Poultney voted him one hundred acres. Remember Baker, one of the strong men of those days, was later engaged in the capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and on a reconnoitering expedition the next year was shot through the heart by an Indian and fell dead on the spot.

The Green Mountain Boys—"The Governor of New York had threatened to drive the military (his opponents) into the Green Mountains, from which circumstance they took the name of Green Mountain Boys." Thus writes one of our greatest statesmen, Ira Allen, in his history of Vermont, that was published in London in 1798, only four years after the first history of the State had been written by Dr. Samuel Williams. Ira's brother, Ethan Allen, was chosen as the leader, and with this sturdy and fearless colonel-commandant and captains under him, like Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Robert Cochran and several others, the New York government soon recognized that they had a worthy foe. Sheriff Munro reported to Governor Tryon, in 1772, that the Bennington company "received and continued all day firing at marks," and, later, that "the rioters had brought to Bennington two pieces of Cannon and a Mortar piece from the small fort at East Hoseck with powder and Ball." The war was on, and each side offered bounties for the arrest of the leaders, and, says Rowland E. Robinson, "one proclamation was as effective as the other." Ethan Allen, Warner and Baker, with willing helpers, raided the homes of some Scotchmen that were siding with the New York party, burned their houses and destroyed their corn by letting their horses loose in the field. Then to cap the climax Baker destroyed their cloth mill, and cutting the cloth in pieces with his sword gave the pieces as souvenirs to his men to wear in their hats. Asked by the enraged miller by what authority he committed these acts Baker said, "We live out of the bounds of law," and raising his gun said, "This is my law." He then exhibited the stump of his thumb and said this was his commission "for doing this very disagreeable work." Two years before Ethan Allen had been a silent witness at a test case in an Albany court when the New Hampshire patent was declared invalid and the New York patent held legal and ejectment ordered. After the trial the at-



STATUE IN HONOR OF THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, RUTLAND

torney-general said to him, "You had better go home and tell your friends to make the best terms they can with the landlords. Whatever the merits of your case, you see how things are going, and in these matters might makes right." Ethan Allen's reply will ever remain in Vermont annals as his greatest utterance—"The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." Asked by the New York lawyer what that meant Allen coolly replied, "Come up to Bennington and we'll show you."

The Beech Seal—What Ethan Allen grimly termed a receipt on the back was punishing the men who attempted to dispossess the settlers of their lands with blows on the back from beech twigs. That this was no child's play the case of Mr. Hough is here cited. He had come into the territory to exercise his rights as justice of the peace, was brought before the committee of safety at Sunderland and at the trial before the committee of safety received the following sentence: "That the prisoner be taken from the bar of this committee of safety and be tied to a tree, and there, on his naked back, receive two hundred stripes; his back being dressed, he should depart out of the district, and on the return, without special leave of the convention, to suffer death." Requesting a certificate of his punishment to show to the New York authorities. Ethan Allen and Seth Warner gave him a certificate, duly signed and sealed by their names. Handing him the paper, Allen "sarcastically observed that the certificate, together with the receipt on his back, would no doubt be admitted as legal evidence before the Supreme Court and the Governor and Council of New York, though the King's warrant to Governor Wentworth and his excellency's sign manual with the great seal of the province of New Hampshire would not."

New York Sympathizer Given a Ride—Some of the punishments were not as "raw" as the beech seal but resembled harmless pranks of college sophomores. Such a one was played upon Dr. Samuel Adams of Arlington who shifted his sympathy from the side of the settlers to the New Yorkers. He began to advise all his friends to purchase lands from New York and backed up his advice by arming himself and threatening any who touched him. Soon a deputation called on him and brought him to the Green Mountain tavern in Bennington where, after hearing his defense, the posse ordered him "to be tied to an arm chair, and hoisted to the sign (a catamount's skin, stuffed, sitting upon the sign-post twenty-five feet from the ground with large teeth, grinning towards New York) and there

to hang two hours in sight of the people, as a punishment merited by his enmity to the rights and liberties of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants."

How Conventions Ended the Controversy—Such was the spirit and temper of the Green Mountain Boys and though it took a long time for the New York Governor to realize that might did not make right, the end was fast approaching. But not until a series of conventions had been held was that result attained. Now for the first time appears the beginning of the representative government which had a legal status and whose proceedings are full of interest. In the late fall of 1775 circulars were sent to the inhabitants to meet at Dorset where was held in Cephas Kent's Inn, on January 16, 1776, the first convention. The call foreshadowed future developments; one article was to send delegates to the Continental Congress to protest against New York's aggressive acts, but the crux of the meeting was "to see whether the Convention will consent to associate with New Yorkers, or by themselves, in the cause of America." Two members of the Allen family, Captain Heman and Ira, were delegated to go to Philadelphia with the remonstrance, the first petition ever presented to Congress from the New Hampshire Grants. This convention debated the articles and adjourned until July 24, at the same place, to hear the report of the Allens on their mission to Congress.

First Vote to Become a State—Thirty-five towns were represented at this convention and after hearing a rather unsatisfactory report from the Allens it was decided not to ally themselves with New Hampshire, and statehood was agreed upon at the last convention held at Dorset in September, the following resolution being passed, "to take suitable measures, as soon as may be, to declare the New Hampshire Grants a free and separate district." At the next convention in Westminster only seventeen delegates were present and Ira Allen served as clerk. A declaration of independence was adopted, the name of the State was to be New Connecticut, and a petition was sent to Congress.

The Birth of the Republic—The last two conventions at Windsor were held in June and July, 1777, where in Elijah West's tavern on July 2, a constitution was drafted and read. Thomas Chittenden was president and among other leaders present were Daniel Chipman of Rutland, Matthew Lyon of Fair Haven, Stephen Keyes of Burlington and Jonathan Robinson of Bennington. Mr. Chittenden served for eleven years as Governor of the State and Mr.



OLD CONSTITUTION HOUSE, WINDSOR



BIRTHPLACE OF PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, PLYMOUTH

Lyon later represented Vermont in Congress. Ira Allen was not a delegate and Ethan Allen was a prisoner of war at the time. It was decided to change the name of the new-born State to Vermont instead of New Connecticut, the former name being suggested by Dr. Thomas Young of Philadelphia who had previously urged the delegates to organize and then submit the result of their action to Congress. Dr. Young also recommended to the convention as a model for a constitution that of Pennsylvania, probably drafted by Benjamin Franklin, and whose essential features originated in Penn's "Frame of Government." While the convention was in session news came of the evacuation of Ticonderoga by the American forces. "In this awful crisis," says Ira Allen in his history, "the convention was for leaving Windsor, but a severe thunderstorm came on and gave them time to reflect; while some members, less alarmed at the news, called the attention of the convention to finish the constitution, which was then reading, paragraph by paragraph, for the last time. This was done, and the convention appointed a council of safety to act during their recess, and adjourned."

The Constitution House—The house which saw the birthplace of Vermont's political freedom remained as a tavern, located near the railroad station, until about 1848. Later it was used for shops for retail stores and small industries. About 1870 it was moved a short distance and converted into a tenement house, and from 1890 until 1914 it was used as a storehouse by some of the Windsor merchants. Finally in 1904 a few patriotic citizens, aided by members of the Ascutney Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, placed this bronze tablet on the building that all might realize that here was the birthplace of a new State:

> The Constitution House. In this Building was held July 2-8, 1777, the convention which adopted the Constitution of the Free and Independent State of Vermont; the first in America to prohibit human slavery.

The building was then owned by Collamer T. Fay of Holyoke, Massachusetts, a former resident of Windsor. After his death some philanthropic Windsor people, aided by the Vermont Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, persuaded the Fay heirs to donate the building to an organization known as the Old Constitution House Association. In 1914 the society moved the building to its present site on the west side of Windsor's main street, the land being given by five members of the family of the late William M. Evarts, one of the town's most distinguished and honored citizens. An attractive sign, surmounted by the State seal, to which is attached an old iron kettle swinging to the breeze, is a striking reminder that

one has come to Vermont's most historic shrine. The building contains many Colonial furnishings, obtained by the Ascutney Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and this patriotic organization uses one of the upstairs rooms for its meetings and assembly hall. The Old Constitution House is kept open through the summer months and is visited by thousands of people from all parts of the country.

Fourteen Years of Independence—From 1777 to 1791 Vermont was an independent republic, striving at various times to become admitted into the Union but always finding the great State of New York opposed to this plan. She encouraged colonization and the sale of lands even at less than ten cents an acre largely paid the expenses of the administration of the government. The first Federal census was taken in 1790, and Vermont then had six counties—Addison, Bennington, Chittenden, Orange, Rutland, Windham and Windsor. Their total population was 85,425. In one notable respect she was better off than the other States as she had no war debts. Vermont had paid her own troops in the Revolutionary War, but money was so scarce that payment "in kind" was provided by the following act of the Legislature:

> Whereas, through a scarcity of a circulating medium, it is very difficult to satisfy all debts in specie. Therefore, Be it enacted, &c, that neat cattle, beef, pork, sheep, wheat, rye, and indian corn, shall be a lawful tender, if turned out by the debtor, on any execution.

The new republic issued its own currency, both paper money and coins, both of which are today valuable relics of the times. Paper money ranged in value from one shilling to three pounds, to be redeemed by the State at the rate of six shillings for one Spanish milled dollar or its equivalent in gold. Counterfeiting was punishable by death. Copper coins were minted under a legislative enactment by Reuben Harmon, Jr., in a little building in Rupert. Post offices were established in the larger towns and in 1784 Anthony Haswell of Bennington was appointed Postmaster-General. He established postal routes and post riders. Free trade with Canada prevailed to a large degree, though in 1785 Matthew Lyon petitioned the Legislature for a duty on nails. Thomas Chittenden, the first Governor, served until 1789 when he was defeated by Moses Robinson, though the election was decided by the Legislature. In 1790 Governor Chittenden was again elected Governor and served the State most faithfully for seven years, dying at Williston, August 25, 1797. He enjoyed the unique distinction of being the only Ver-

mont Governor under whom a session of Legislature was held on what was really foreign soil when the session was held at Charlestown, New Hampshire, in 1781.

The Story of the Sixteen New Hampshire Towns—Hardly had the new republic been established before a serious complication arose when sixteen towns on the east side of the Connecticut River asked to join Vermont. New Hampshire was willing, so it was represented, and they were taken into the Vermont fold. This naturally stirred up New Hampshire, and Congress sided with New Hampshire. New York of course sided with New Hampshire, and the two States proposed that Vermont should be divided between them with the Green Mountains as the dividing line. But Vermont countered with the claim that she was an independent State and even her existence was not a question for any court or Congress. Vermont relinquished her claim for the sixteen towns and waited for further developments.

The Haldimand Correspondence—In March, 1779, the English Secretary of Colonial Affairs wrote to General Haldimand suggesting that the King might take over Vermont. This information was brought to Ethan Allen a year later by a British soldier disguised as a Yankee farmer and delivered to him in the form of a letter on one of Arlington's streets. It was a missive from Colonel Beverly Robinson and Allen at once showed the letter to Governor Chittenden and a few of the leading men of the State. It was decided not to reply. Later, Governor Chittenden wrote General Haldimand, then in Canada, suggesting an exchange of prisoners, and soon a British force appeared in Lake Champlain and negotiations began with the express agreement on both sides that there should be no hostile acts. On February 23, 1781, Allen received a second letter from Robinson assuring him that if they were friendly Great Britain would assume sovereignty over them. Both of these letters were transmitted by Allen to Congress in a letter which closed with these words:

> I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully persuaded in opinion that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them; for Vermont, of all people, would be most miserable were she obliged to defend the independence of the United claiming States, and they at the same time at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded, when Congress considers the circumstances of this State, they will be more surprised that I have transmitted

them the enclosed letters than that I have kept them in custody so long, for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont as Congress are that of the United States, and rather than fail retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains and wage war with human nature at large.

Secret Diplomacy—First Ira Allen went to Canada and arranged for a cessation of hostilities between the two countries of Canada and Vermont and reported to the Legislature. To keep up the deceit a document was signed suggesting that Vermont would like to arrange for a treaty of peace with Great Britain. Later emissaries came up Lake Champlain in the night and met both Ira and Ethan Allen and for three years negotiations were kept up, even Benjamin Franklin sending a letter from Paris to Congress telling them what was going on. This resulted in Congress appointing a committee to arrange a speedy admission into the Union. Through secret diplomacy Vermont protected herself from an invasion from the English on the north, while at the same time New York believed Vermont was loyal to the Union. And she was.

New York Finally Yields—In the years which followed New York towns were admitted into Vermont, and both Congress and New York became distressed over the situation. General Washington then took a hand in the controversy and advised Vermont to give up the newly-annexed towns and assured them of final success in getting into the Union. The people believed him and the Legislature followed his sage advice. The claims against New York were settled for $30,000 and it was mutually agreed that the boundary line between the two States should be the western line of towns granted by New Hampshire, and the mid-channel of Lake Champlain. Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris were sent to Philadelphia to negotiate with Congress and on February 18, 1791, without debate or opposition, Congress passed an act that on the fourth of March next, "the said State, by the name and style of the State of Vermont, shall be received into this Union as a new and entire member of the United States of America." The Green Mountain Boys had won their long-fought contest. The gods of the hills had triumphed over the gods of the valleys.

CHAPTER V

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF STATEHOOD

"Oh! the bounds of her kingdom are strait,
But the hearts of her people are great,
All our hearts for the stout little State—
Vermont!"

So much of the results of the steady development of the State in all lines will appear in subsequent chapters of this work that it will be the writer's purpose to only touch upon the notable occurrences of the nineteenth century, giving more attention to the earlier decades with which the reader may not be so familiar. As Zadoch Thompson has so well pointed out in his history, when Vermont came into the Union the peculiar and uncommon incidents of the years immediately preceding came to an end and from 1791 the history of Vermont does not materially differ from that of its fourteen associates.

Governor Chittenden's Remarkable Record—With the exception of the year 1789 Thomas Chittenden had been Governor through Vermont's independent existence, and he continued as Chief Executive until his death in 1797. His death in his sixty-ninth year ended a long and faithful service to the State of his adoption for, like many other men of that day, he was Connecticut-born, where he had served six years in the Colonial Assembly before coming to Vermont, in 1774, and settling at Williston. "Though he was destitute of many of the qualifications now deemed essential to a statesman, he possessed all that were necessary, and none that were superfluous, in the times in which he lived, and was probably far better fitted to be the leader and Governor of the independent, dauntless and hardy, but uncultivated settlers of Vermont, than would have been a man of more theoretical knowledge or polite accomplishments."

The Simple Life—That Governor Chittenden was never carried away by any of the frills of aristocracy and privilege that abounded in other States is illustrated by a little anecdote of Mrs. Chittenden. The family was living at Arlington at the time when a party of high-born New York dames came to visit the Governor. When the

dinner hour arrived Mrs. Chittenden went to the piazza and blew the horn for the men at work in the fields. "Do you have your servants eat at the same table with you?" asked one of the visitors. "Yes," she replied, "but I have been telling the Governor we ought not to, because they have to work so much harder they ought to eat first."

Other Long Tenures of Office—Though Governor Chittenden holds the record for length of service, some of his immediate successors were signally honored by receiving repeated reëlections. Isaac Tichenor was Governor from 1797-1807, and again in 1808; Jonas Galusha served from 1809-1813, and again from 1815-1820; Silas H. Kennison from 1835-1841; William A. Palmer from 1831-1835. Richard Skinner, Cornelius P. Van Ness and Samuel C. Crafts each served for three years, while Erastus Fairbanks, defeated for reëlection in 1853, was again elected Governor in 1860. For over seventy-five years Vermonters have never reëlected their Governor until in the 1928 election Governor John E. Weeks was elected to succeed himself. Thus was broken the political custom of over half a century, known as the "Mountain rule" by which Governors and Senators were selected alternately from the east side and west side of the Green Mountains.

The Anti-Masonic Movement—The election of two of the above-named Governors, Crafts and Palmer, hinged on the Masonic sympathies of the candidates. Samuel C. Crafts was the son of Colonel Ebenezer Crafts, after whom the town of Craftsbury was named. Serving for thirty-seven consecutive years as Craftsbury's town clerk he not only held many State offices but was also a Congressman and Senator, serving in the latter capacity for only a few months. He was first elected Governor in 1828 without opposition. The next year, however, the anti-Masonic movement made its first apperance in Vermont politics. It started in Western New York in 1826 when it was alleged that one William Morgan had been abducted and killed by some Masons for having revealed some of the secrets of the order. In 1829 the anti-Masons polled 7,376 votes while Governor Crafts received almost twice as many. In 1830 William A. Palmer of Danville appeared as the anti-Masonic candidate and though he did not defeat his rival he did succeed in throwing the election into the Legislature. It took thirty-two ballots to elect Governor Crafts who won by the bare majority of six votes. In 1831 he was again a candidate, and obtained a plurality, though not a majority of the popular vote, but was elected Governor by the

Legislature on the ninth ballot. In 1832 Governor Palmer had ex-Governor Crafts as his political opponent. Again there was no choice by the people and it took forty-three ballots in the Legislature before Governor Palmer was elected. In 1834 the election was thrown into the Legislature and Governor Palmer was elected on the first ballot. The record for all time in legislative deadlocks was in 1835. At this election Governor Palmer had 16,210 votes; William C. Bradley 13,254, with 5,425 for Mr. Paine and 54 scattering. The Legislature balloted sixty-three times to choose a Governor and finally dissolved without a choice. Under the constitution Lieutenant-Governor Silas Jennison assumed the Executive chair. In the national election of 1832 Vermont cast her seven electoral votes for the anti-Masonic candidate, William Wirt, these being the only votes he received. The anti-Masonic movement subsided about 1835.

Early Legislative Sessions—From 1787 until 1808 the Legislature was a wanderer in the State, meeting in these twenty years in fifteen different towns and holding forty-seven sessions. Windsor was the meeting place fourteen times; Bennington eight times; Rutland seven times; Westminster four times and Manchester for three sessions. The Legislature met twice at Middlebury and Newbury, once in the towns of Norwich, Castleton, Burlington, Woodstock, Danville and the city of Vergennes, the third oldest city in New England. In 1781 there were four sessions; in 1782 three sessions and several times until 1805 the Legislature met twice a year. Annual sessions were held through 1870 and since that time the sessions have been held every two years. The sessions of this early period lasted only a few weeks.

Why the Legislature Moved Around—The explanation of the wanderings of our General Assembly comes in an interesting letter written in 1883 by Henry Little of Kalamazoo, Michigan, to which further reference will be made. Mr. Little says:

"There were plenty of places which desired the honor of being made the permanent seat of government, but every one of such places had its jealous rivals. It was feared that the fortunate place would take on airs, magnify its importance and make exorbitant demands upon the State and also upon the members of the Legislature, one of whom once said that if the seat of government was established at a certain place its people would charge him one dollar and fifty cents a week for board instead of one dollar as now. Therefore whenever it was proposed to establish

the seat of government at a certain place, it was opposed by offering some other place, which was claimed to be better."

When the Legislature Met at Rutland—In the years 1784, 1786, 1792, 1794, 1796, 1797 and 1804 the Legislature met in what was locally known in Rutland as the Old State House, though it was not until 1808 that Montpelier became the capital and that the State House was occupied. This historic building stood upon the same plot of land in Rutland until 1912 when it was purchased by Dr. A. H. Bellerose who razed the structure and built a fine home on its site. County courts were held in this building from 1784 to 1793 and it was here that the first session of the Federal court was held in 1791 with Nathaniel Chipman, who received his appointment from President Washington, as the presiding judge. The late Horace Ward Bailey, one of Vermont's later historians, was inclined to believe this building was erected by voluntary subscriptions and was therefore designed solely for public purposes.

Early Action against Slavery—The Legislature met at Danville in 1805 and was urged by Governor Tichenor in his annual message to endorse the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States to end the slave trade, and the one hundred and ten Federalists and seventy-one Republicans united in declaring that "universal freedom is one of those fundamental principles of our political institutions which are engraven on the mind and live in the affections of every true American. And although our country is already infested with slavery, the toleration of which might seem to contravene the general system of our policy, we trust that the humanity and justice of our country will prevent the increase of the deprecated evil, and arrest, as soon as possible, that execrable traffic in human flesh."

Danville Prepares for the Session—At the time of this gathering in 1805, Henry Little was a young lad in the town but his memory stood him in good stead and his letter, already referred to, appeared in the St. Johnsbury "Caledonian" in 1883. Some historians declare that the Legislature met in the Governor Palmer house, but Mr. Little says it met in the old Court House. To provide for the entertainment of nearly two hundred members was some task for a small town, so the summer before the session Colonel I. P. Dana bought the tavern and added barns and sheds to the property. Mr. Little writes that it was necessary to enlarge their own home, and that when the carpenters were out of nails they sent him down to the blacksmith shop to get some more. They gave the boy the



OLD COVERED BRIDGE, ESSEX JUNCTION

exact number of nails wanted and he waited and watched the smithy hammer them out on his anvil and then head them in his vise.

Members Walked or Came on Horseback—"All members of the Legislature," writes Mr. Little, "arrived at Danville on horseback, or walked, there being no pleasure-wheeled carriages then in that region, nor any four-wheeled vehicles until some years later. Our table fare was very good, but it was limited to a less variety of edibles than we now have, there being no cultivated fruit, except perhaps a few apples and currants. The tableware at that time would be a great curiosity now. Some people ate from wooden bowls, with wooden spoons, but pewter and iron spoons were generally used."

No Stoves and Sand Floors—"Trenchers, or wooden plates, very neatly turned from hardwood, and in size and shape of earthen plates, were much in use, and many people insisted upon their use, because they did not dull their knives, which custom required to be very sharp. Our boarders had given a few gentle hints that our knives were below the required standard in regard to sharpness, and finally a more emphatic reminder gave them a keen cutting edge by means of the grindstone. A table bedecked with bright, shining pewter plates, platters, basins, porringers, mugs, teapots, etc., was the highest ambition of many families. The broad open fireplaces, with blocks of stone or wood, instead of andirons, was the only means of warming houses, there being no stoves in the country until some years later when the first one was placed in the Court House. It was still many years later when the first floor carpet made its appearance. Our best floors were covered with clean, white sand wrought into many fanciful and grotesque figures by the action of the broom in the hands of an expert artist."

Moderate Compensation—Continuing, Mr. Little says that the reason the sessions were short in those early days was because the members received such a moderate compensation for their services that there was no inducement for prolonging their sessions any longer than the welfare of the public required. "That peculiar kind of legislation for which Vermont was so celebrated during its early history as a State was a commendable model for the imitation of other States and other times. The Vermonters had remarkably good natural endowments, and were very intelligent. They were plain and simple, but very practical in all their public and private affairs, and labored to secure the most needed and useful

results, while they abhorred shams and superfluities. Therefore their laws were few, useful, plain and easily understood. The criminal laws at that early period were by necessity adapted to their then existing circumstances; therefore the criminal did not pay the penalty for violating the laws by spending several years in a State prison, because that institution did not exist in Vermont."

Making the Punishment Fit the Crime—Nearly all the criminals of the early part of the nineteenth century were horse thieves or counterfeiters and Mr. Little graphically describes how the officials in Danville treated offenders that were caught. "Gentlemen of a certain distinguished order were not entirely forgotten and neglected in these good old times, but promptly and summarily received the just reward of their works in that good, old-fashioned way, by publicly standing in the pillory and at the whipping post. The pillory consisted of a platform about five feet high, with an upright post in the center, at the top of the post being a horizontal plank having holes through it to fit close about the neck and wrists, as the culprit stood erect with arms extended. I have seen two men at the same time standing there side by side, and giving a free exhibition to the surrounding crowd, which manifested its high approval of that novel entertainment by jokes, jeers, scoffs and insults, while the small boys (for whom there was no law) were active in using unsavory missiles."

The Second Act in the Drama—"The time occupied by the first act," continues the writer, "of that grand drama was just one hour, at the end of which time the principal actors in the scene, accompanied by their audience, repaired to the south side of the public square, where the second act was performed in a very satisfactory manner. There was a perpendicular post, on the top of which there was a crossbar extending each way, and when the culprit's arms were extended to the right and left his wrists were firmly bound to the ends of that bar. Then he received thirty-nine strokes of the 'cat-o'-nine tails' (or lashes) honestly and vigorously applied to the naked back. I have seen men pass through that trying ordeal with much apparent fortitude, and I saw one man who, as soon as he was released from his bonds, fell to the ground completely exhausted, and thus was borne away."

Establishing a State Capital—Although committees had been appointed in both the sessions of 1803 and 1804 to establish a permanent seat for the Legislature, final action was not taken until the session that met at Danville. A bill to make Montpelier that State



THE SECOND STATE HOUSE



THE FIRST STATE HOUSE



THE THIRD STATE HOUSE

Capital passed with little opposition with two conditions, that Montpelier should donate the land for a Capitol and build the house by the first of September, 1808; and second, that if a future Legislature shall cease to hold their sessions in Montpelier the State shall pay to Montpelier the value of the property.

The First State House—The committee designated in the bill fixed upon the location of the State House on almost precisely the place which Colonel Jacob Davis, the first permanent settler of Montpelier, had years before pointed out as the site of the future Capitol of the State. Individuals contributed over six thousand dollars and nearly a thousand dollars more was raised by a town tax. The land which was valued at a couple of thousand dollars was given by Thomas Davis, a son of the first settler. The building was located a few rods southeast of the present State House and was two years in building. In the meantime at both the sessions of the Legislature of 1806 and 1807, held at Middlebury and Woodstock, repeated attempts were made to effect a change of location. All efforts were unsuccessful and the Legislature of 1808 met in a building of wood, fifty by seventy feet on the ground, thirty-six feet high to the roof and three stories in height. It was made ten sided in shape by cutting the corners of the ends fronting the street, thus admitting of winding stairs to the gallery and council chamber. Representative hall was warmed by a two-story stove in the center of the room and the straight-backed plank seats had their backs covered by another plank for writing purposes, but even the Solons used their jack-knives on this shelf more often than their pencil and the Legislative Manual says, "The truth is, this old house was literally whittled out of use."

The Second State House—Again in 1832 when it became evident that the first building had proved inadequate for State purposes there was another struggle among contesting towns to move the State capital. An act was passed reëstablishing the seat of government at Montpelier and the Legislature made provision for "erecting a new State House at Montpelier, on condition that the inhabitants of Montpelier shall give good and sufficient security, by January 1, following, to pay into the Treasury of this State the sum of fifteen thousand dollars—one-half of said sum to be paid in one year, and the remainder in two years from the passage of this act." The citizens of Montpelier paid three thousand dollars for more land adjacent to the first site and blasted down a portion of the hill northwest of the old site at a cost of ten thousand dollars. A

granite structure costing over one hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars was first occupied by the Legislature at the session of 1836 and for twenty-one years thereafter, when it accidentally took fire and all but its bare walls were destroyed. This building is illustrated and fully described in the Legislative Manual which quotes Zadoch Thompson, the historian, as declaring "The building is neat and simple in its design; a pure architectural character is preserved throughout; this, combined with the convenience of interior arrangement, and the permanency of its construction, renders its structure of more merit than any other in New England."

The Present State House—This building in its Doric grandeur, with its two wings and annex which connects with the west wing, is so familiar to all Vermonters that any extended description would be superfluous. It is sixty feet high from the portico to the apex, and surmounted by a statue of Ceres by Larkin G. Mead, the noted Vermont sculptor. It is built of Barre granite, laboriously hauled before the days of gasoline-driven trucks a distance of ten miles. Brass cannon, captured from the Hessians at the battle of Bennington in 1777, are conspicuously placed in the portico. These were found in Washington by that noted antiquarian, Henry Stevens, of Barnet, who wrote Governor Slade, "Even the cannon taken from the Germans at Bennington are now deposited in the United States Arsenal in the District of Columbia as trophies, unpaid for by the General Government, and quietly acquiesced in by the Green Mountain Boys." In his next message to the Legislature, Governor Slade said, "If there is a man in Vermont whose blood would not course more quickly thro' his veins on seeing in our State House these trophies of the crowning act of Vermont valor, I am much mistaken." In a ringing address two years later in Congress, Congressman Collamer secured the unanimous passage of a resolution which brought these fieldpieces to the State House, where, on October 20, 1848, an address was delivered by Rev. James D. Butler, then pastor of the Wells River Congregational Church, before the Legislature on the battle of Bennington, the notable occasion being in celebration and commemoration of receiving and dedicating the cannon. Two naval pieces on the esplanade were taken from the Spanish warship "Castillo" after its capture by Montpelier's native son, Admiral George Dewey.

Other State Buildings—Built also of Barre granite is the State Library and Supreme Court Building, which also houses the valuable collections of the Vermont Historical Society and is the home of

several State officers. This building was completed in 1918. Still in dire need of more room for the growing activities of the State Government, the Legislature authorized in 1925 the purchase of the four-story brick building opposite the Pavilion Hotel that had been for over thirty years the home of the National Life Insurance Company. This building is well occupied with offices, and it is only a question of time when further provision must be made for additional space for both State officials and rooms for committees when the Legislature is in session.

The Council of Censors—Taking the Pennsylvania Constitution as its model, when Vermont adopted its Constitution in 1777, it followed the Keystone State in establishing a Council of Censors. Beginning in March, 1785, thirteen men were elected once in seven years. Except in one instance, 1857, they were made up of delegates of one from each town. Fourteen times, at intervals of seven years, they were elected and nine constitutional conventions were called to consider proposed amendments. This body was abolished in 1870 and the power of proposing amendments was passed to the Legislature, to be exercised only once in ten years. At the eighth session of the Council of Censors, in 1836, the State Senate was established, though three times before this proposition had been voted down. Five times the Council of Censors recommended that the tenure of office of the Supreme Court judges be extended to six years and each time this measure was defeated. The Records of the Council of Safety and the Governor and Council have been published in eight octavo volumes and edited by E. P. Walton. Of their permanent worth, M. D. Gilman in his "Bibliography of Vermont," well says, "These volumes are of great value to the student of Vermont history, the appendices especially containing a vast amount of historical material, copiously illustrated with notes, biographical and other, by Mr. Walton, not elsewhere readily accessible."

Some Distinguished Visitors—Many men of prominence in this and other countries have passed through the State and many have honored us with a brief visit. One of the earliest of this group was the commission sent to Canada by the Continental Congress, in 1776, to interest the Canadians in the American cause. Headed by Benjamin Franklin, it also included Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and his brother, the first Catholic Archbishop in the United States. Coming from Albany, through Lake George and Lake Champlain, they

spent one night at Panton, probably the most distinguished visitors that ever came to this town in Addison County. Some twenty years later Bennington was honored by two statesmen who afterwards became Presidents, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. They were visiting the battlefields of the Revolution. The Vermont "Gazette," in describing their brief visit, felicitated the church-going proclivities of the visitors as "worthy of imitation by all ranks and descriptions of men in our Republic," but Jefferson spoils this word of praise in a letter to Thomas J. Randolph, in which he says their stay at Bennington was prolonged because the laws of the State did not permit Sunday travel. On July 8 Daniel Webster spoke to a vast crowd near the summit of Stratton Mountain, where many spent the night in wigwams erected for their shelter. The day following he spoke for an hour in Bellows Falls, both addresses being in the interests of General William Henry Harrison for President. Dom Pedro II, the second Emperor of Brazil, passed through Vermont in 1876, and through trains to and from Canada and the Lake Champlain boats have carried at various times many world-known leaders.

Presidents Visit Vermont—From James Monroe to Calvin Coolidge ten Presidents have visited Vermont. President Monroe came in 1817, stopping at Norwich, Windsor, Woodstock, Montpelier, and Burlington. He was received at each place with great enthusiasm and much ceremony. Referring to the changes since his earlier visit, he said, at Windsor, "I left it a wilderness, and I now find it blooming with luxuriant promise of wealth and happiness." On the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bennington, August 15, 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes, with three members of his Cabinet, came to Bennington and made a brief speech. While en route to the Adirondacks in 1887 President Cleveland, accompanied by his wife, journeyed from North Bennington to Swanton. As he had requested there be no receptions and speeches, this visit was only marked by enthusiastic greetings at the stations along the line. The dedication of the Bennington battle monument, the tallest battle monument in the world, in the middle week of August, 1891, was honored by the presence of President Benjamin Harrison. It so happened that Hon. Edward J. Phelps, of Burlington, who presided at the exercises in Bennington when President Hayes was the State's guest, was the orator of the day at the monument dedication. President Harrison, escorted by his Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, visited Fair Haven, Castleton, Brandon, Middlebury, Vergennes, Burlington, St. Albans, Richmond, Waterbury, and Montpelier, where a special session of the Legislature had been convened and

where he addressed the joint assembly. The following day brief stops were made at stations before he reached St. Johnsbury, where fifteen thousand people greeted the first President that had ever visited the scales town. He praised the Morgan horses at the horse trot at White River Junction, paid a deserved tribute to his Secretary of War when he spoke in the latter's home town of Proctor, and also visited Bradford, Windsor, and Rutland on one of the most extensive tours any President ever made to Vermont.

President McKinley in Vermont—When William McKinley was Governor of Ohio he came to Vermont in the Harrison campaign, and spoke before large audiences in Burlington, Rutland, Bellows Falls, and Brattleboro. While he was a summer guest at Hotel Champlain in 1897, President McKinley twice crossed the lake, first to a private function and later to a public gathering. On August 5 both the President and Vice-President Hobart were entertained at the palatial residence of Colonel LeGrand B. Cannon, in Burlington, and later given a reception at Fort Ethan Allen by General Guy V. Henry. The next day he was the guest of the Vermont Fish and Game League, on the grounds of Lieutenant-Governor H. C. Fisk at Isle la Motte. Eight hundred Vermonters gathered under the "big top" erected for the occasion, and in a short but exceedingly happy address the Chief Executive said, "I like Vermont; I like her people; I like her civilization. I never am in the presence of a New England audience that I do not recall that the civilization of New England penetrates every State and Territory of the American Union; and I do not forget that wherever New England civilization is found, loyal and patriotic men and women are found."

Mr. Roosevelt Gets News of President McKinley's Assassination at Isle La Motte—Four years later Theodore Roosevelt as vice-President came to Lieutenant-Governor Fisk's home as the guest of the Vermont Fish and Game Club, having spoken the evening before, September 5, 1901, to the Vermont Officers' Reunion Society. One of the speakers at the Fish and Game banquet was Jeremiah Curtin, the translator of "Quo Vadis." In his address, Mr. Curtin expressed the hope that the distinguished guest of the occasion might later become President. One who sat near the Vice-President saw him shake his head and literally show his teeth in evidence of his disapproval. But, sad to relate, almost immediately after the banquet the news was flashed to the little island on the lake that President McKinley had been shot at the Buffalo exposition. The news was conveyed to the crowd on the lawn by Senator Redfield Proctor,

and after a momentary hush there were groans and some were in tears. The Vice-President was whisked away in a special train, and Mr. Curtin's wish soon came true in one of the greatest tragedies in American history. As President, Mr. Roosevelt made an official visit to the State in the summer of 1902, speaking at the fair ground in Windsor, Bethel, Randolph, from the State House steps at Montpelier, Waterbury, Burlington, Vergennes, Rutland, Bellows Falls, and Brattleboro. His last visit was a strictly political one, when in the exciting campaign of 1912 he spoke in sixteen cities and towns in three days. His earnest plea for the success of the Progressive party almost swept the State into the Roosevelt column at the November election, when he ran only twelve hundred votes behind President Taft.

Visits of Later Presidents—Though no politics were injected into the speeches which President William H. Taft made in a short trip through Vermont the same fall, it undoubtedly made friends. Besides the scheduled stops, he was held up at Danville by a rope thrown across the road, and when the genial President saw all the school children at the spot he made a short and felicitous speech. In more recent years he has spoken with great effect in various parts of Vermont, in advocating the League to Enforce Peace. President Woodrow Wilson had a summer home opposite Windsor for a couple of summers and was occasionally seen on Vermont soil. President Calvin Coolidge, the only Vermont-born President except Chester A. Arthur, has returned to his ancestral home on both joyous and sad errands. His last address in his native State as President forms a fitting opening of "Vermont of Today." Among those who have failed to reach the White House that have spoken in Vermont may be mentioned Stephen A. Douglas, a native of Brandon; Horace Greeley, Hon. Charles E. Hughes and Colonel William Jennings Bryan.

Lafayette Visits Our State—The most distinguished foreigner that ever paid Vermont a visit was General Lafayette, who arrived in this country August 17, 1824. A committee of the Legislature reported that "as a nation we owe to him a debt of gratitude, and that Vermont, in common with her sister States, would rejoice in an opportunity of manifesting it." An official invitation was extended the French general, and he came to Vermont in the summer of 1825. Welcomed at Windsor by Governor Van Ness, a notable feature of his enthusiastic receptions at Windsor, Royalton, East Randolph, Montpelier and Burlington was the presence of the gray-haired veterans of the Revolutionary War, many of whom the French Marquis

recognized as former companions in arms. While at Burlington he laid the cornerstone of what is now the south portion of the old college building of the University of Vermont. The various addresses of welcome and General Lafayette's most felicitous responses are all given in the seventh volume of the "Governor and Council," and Mr. Walton adds this in a footnote: "It cannot be doubted that the tour of Lafayette was of immense value to the nation, in rekindling the patriotic spirit in the old and inspiring it in the young." A Cantonese china plate used by Lafayette when he dined at the tavern in Windsor is greatly prized by Mrs. C. M. Hook, of Felchville, while the rarest portion of the collection of china in the Fairbanks Museum at St. Johnsbury was fired the year that Lafayette visited America, and each piece bears his likeness.

Prince William of Sweden gave illustrated lectures on his big game hunting in Africa at Montpelier and Brattleboro in the winter of 1927. While in Montpelier he accepted an invitation to address the Legislature, where he was wittily presented to the Solons by the late Lieutenant-Governor S. Hollister Jackson as "the most popular Bill that has come before this Legislature."



CHAPTER VI

VERMONT'S PART IN OUR COUNTRY'S WARS

"Put the Vermonters ahead and keep the column well closed up."—General J. Sedgwick's order at the battle of Gettysburg.

How Vermont Went Over the Top—When one realizes the large contribution of man-power that the little State of Vermont made to the armies of the Nation in its six wars, his pulse is quickened and his loyalty to the State intensified. Though the Revolutionary War was waged at the same time that Vermont was fighting for her own State sovereignty, the Green Mountain Boys forgot their own troubles and gave over seven thousand men to the cause of independence. And nearly nine thousand more a generation later participated in the War of 1812 on land and sea. In the Civil War the State furnished seventeen regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, three light batteries and three companies of sharpshooters—over 34,000 men in all. Vermont had a regiment ready for action in the Spanish-American War, while over 16,000 boys, and a number of women just as brave, served with the Colors in the World War.

Newbury's Notable Contribution—One of the oldest towns in the State, whose population never reached three thousand, has a record of enlistments unparalleled in the annals of Vermont. It begins back of the Revolutionary War, as eleven men lie buried in the Newbury cemetery that fought the Indians in the old French war. One hundred and ten served in the Continental armies, eighty of whom are also in "God's acre" at Newbury. Forty men enlisted in the War of 1812, and the town had one veteran of the Mexican War. Its greatest contribution was in the Civil War, when two hundred and thirty-six men were enlisted in the Northern armies. Some of Newbury's boys were in the First Vermont Regiment in the Spanish-American War, while the roster of the World War credits the town with ninety in the army, two in the navy and one in the Army Nurse Corps.

The Westminster Massacre—An event occurred in the early spring of 1775 that marked the climax of the trouble with New York, and was so near to the Revolutionary War that it is very properly considered the first blood to be shed in the struggle for independence.

This was the Westminster massacre, "an occurrence which unified the sentiment of the grants, intensified their opposition to New York, and roused resentment against England, under the cover of whose authority New York was acting." Three conventions had been held at the Westminster Court House, in Cumberland County, where the King's court was held in the jurisdiction of what is now Windsor and Windham counties. The officers were holding their appointments from the Governor of New York, but were really officers of the Crown. A regular session of the court was scheduled for March 14, and the Vermonters proposed to show their hostility to the Crown by preventing the opening of the court. Before the day arrived they met the presiding judge at Chester and urged him to call off the session. Judge Chandler seemed to feel this ought to be done, but told the delegation that a criminal case required that the court should hold its regular session. Finding all efforts unavailing, a party of Whigs armed themselves from Captain Azariah Wright's woodpile and took possession of the court house. The sheriff and his posse demanded entrance, with the accompanied threat that if they were not admitted in fifteen minutes "he would blow a lane through them." The clerk of the court backed up the sheriff and, exhibiting his pistol, swore that "only by it would he hold parley with such damned rascals." Here, Judge Chandler intervened and, when the sheriff's party had gone for refreshments, told the Vermonters they could stay in the court house until morning, when court would be held and the officers would come in without arms. "With courage reinforced by potations of flip and fiery rum," the sheriff and his posse returned to the building late in the evening, forced an entrance, and in the mêlée which followed William French was almost instantly killed, Daniel Houghton was fatally wounded and several other Vermonters hurt. Court met in the morning, adjourned to the afternoon, and never met again. "The King had departed forever from Westminster," said the late Judge Frank L. Fish at the sesqui-centennial celebration in that town January 15, 1927, and the first blood of the American Revolution had been shed.

Captain Wright Brandishes a Gun in Church—This story about Captain Wright that Judge Fish told at the Westminster celebration deserves a wider circulation:

> Captain Wright was a leader of the people and he was a man of war. Let anyone who doubts this read the story of how he prevented his being put out of the church because he had shot a bear on Sunday. He marched into the House of God with his gun on his shoulder and when the proceedings began,

looking to his dishonorable dismissal, he leveled the trusty firearm first at the pastor and then at the deacon, who tried to do the pastor's bidding in reading his dismissal, and when all was over and the frightened congregation had fled to the door he calmly shouldered his gun, walked out and locked the door after him.

The Capture of Fort Ticonderoga—News traveled slowly one hundred and fifty years ago, and Ethan Allen says that word of the first clash between the British troops and the minute-men of Massachusetts at Lexington, April 19, 1775, threw the Green Mountain Boys into somewhat of a panic. The leaders met in the Catamount Tavern in Bennington and attempted to explore futurity, though they found it unfathomable. They resolved to join with the Colonists in wresting the country from British rule, and awaited developments. The forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point were occupied by the British, and their capture would seriously cripple the enemy's plans. John Brown, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on his way to Canada to keep the Canadians and Indians neutral, might have stopped en route to confer with the Green Mountain Boys, for he wrote Samuel Adams from Montreal, "the fort at Tyconderogo must be seized as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the Kings Troops. The people on N Hampshire Grants have ingaged to do this Business, and in my opinion they are the most proper Persons for this Job."

Benedict Arnold Enters Upon the Scene—The Green Mountain Boys were not alone in focusing their attention on the capture of Ticonderoga, for a committee from the Council of Connecticut soon arrived at Bennington with advice on the same subject. Benedict Arnold was marching at the head of a New Haven company to Massachusetts, and reported to the Committee of Safety the defenseless condition of the fort, declaring "the place could not hold out an hour against a vigorous onset." Arnold was furnished with ready money, allowed four hundred men and was promoted from captain to colonel, "appointed to a secret service." There is much conflicting testimony as to just what happened when Arnold and Allen met on Vermont soil as to who should lead the expedition. The situation must have become rather tense, as during the debate Allen blurted out, "What shall I do with the damned rascal?" Lieutenant Edward Mott, one of Allen's followers, wrote that after this the men under Allen were just about ready to club their muskets, damn the pay and go home. But the great adventure did not fail because of rivalry among the leaders, and the fort was taken May 10, 1775, with all the garrison, ammunition and stores.

New Light on Allen's Actions—There have been many versions of just what Allen said when he entered the fort. Every schoolboy is familiar with the story that when Allen's authority was questioned he told the commandant that he demanded immediate surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." In his "Narrative," published by himself four years after, he declares those were the words used, though tradition says stronger language was employed. The British side of the story, published only a short time ago, throws new light on the episode. It appears in a letter written a month after the capture by Lieutenant Feltham. This officer declares that Ethan Allen met him, and not Captain Delaplace, the latter being awakened by the commotion. Lieutenant Feltham says, "after asking them by what authority they entered his majesties fort who were the leaders what their intent &c &c I was inform'd by one Ethan Allen and one Benedict Arnold that they had a joint command." Continuing, he writes, "Mr. Allen told me his orders were from the province of Connecticut & that he must have immediate possession of the fort and all the effects of George the third (those were his words) Mr Allen insisting on this with a drawn sword over my head & numbers of his followers firelocks presented at me alledging I was commanding officer & to give up the fort, and if it was not comply'd with, or that there was a single gun fired in the fort neither man woman or child should be left alive in the fort." The letter declares that after Captain Delaplace appeared he was placed under guard. The next day about a hundred more men appeared "to join in the plunder which was most rigidly perform'd as to liquors, provisions, &c whether belonging to his majesty or private property."

Ticonderoga and Crown Point Both Taken—Notwithstanding all the controversies of this event, the outstanding fact remains that Fort Ticonderoga was captured without bloodshed. That Ethan Allen was the hero there can be no doubt, and it is well to recall the story of what happened when Ethan Allen heard Parson Dewey give God the credit for its capture at one of the parson's religious services. The old warrior finally interrupted the minister's prayer by ejaculating, "Parson, don't forget to tell the Lord that Ethan Allen was there." Crown Point was soon taken by Colonel Seth Warner, and a fleet fitted up by Allen and Arnold sailed down the lake, and by the capture of an armed sloop at St. John's completed the campaign that brought Lake Champlain into the hands of the Continentals. Congress voted to pay the Green Mountain Boys for their splendid work, and recommended that a regiment be organized.

The Canadian Campaign—The Vermonters fared ill in their attempts to gain victories on foreign soil. Arnold built a fleet on Lake Champlain, and after sailing through the enemy's fleet in a fog was pursued by the enemy, and running his ships aground burned them at the water's edge. Allen was sent into Canada on a political mission, where he was unwisely persuaded to attempt a capture of Montreal. He was captured, nearly lost his life from attempted attacks by Indians, and when the brutal British general found he was the hero of Ticonderoga he sent him to England in irons. He was later returned to New York and exchanged in 1778.

The Battle of Hubbardton—This was the only battle in the Revotionary War fought on Vermont soil, July 7, 1777. In his address at the sesqui-centennial celebration at Hubbardton, July 6, 1927, Governor John E. Weeks said:

> The battle of Hubbardton was one of the most determined and severe on record during the Revolution, though the numbers engaged were comparatively small. It was also significant, for it furnished Burgoyne his first taste of the plucky resistance that was finally to dash to pieces his fond dreams of invasion and culminate in his capitulation at Saratoga.

It was the plan of the British to gain control of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, and General Burgoyne took Fort Ticonderoga. The retreating Vermonters were pursued by the British, and would probably have eluded them if a French officer had not set fire to his home as he left it. This occurrence, unfortunate and disastrous in its results, happened at two o'clock in the morning and gave the British full knowledge of the retreat of the Vermonters. General Arthur St. Clair kept on with his troops to Castleton, and Colonel Seth Warner was in charge of the rear guard. It was the latter outfit that was attacked by the British troops, and Colonel Ebenezer Francis, who had charge of the Massachusetts regiment, was killed. Though less than two thousand troops were engaged on each side, there was heavy fighting, as about three hundred Americans were killed, wounded or taken prisoners, and the British casualties were about two hundred. In Thompson's historical novel, "The Green Mountain Boys," there is a vivid description of this spirited contest.

"Considered as the first in a chain of events leading from the capture of Ticonderoga by Burgoyne to the glorious American victories at Bennington, at Fort Stanwix, at Stillwater, and to the final breaking up and capture of Burgoyne's entire army at Saratoga but three and a half months later, the gallant fight at Hubbardton shines forth as the first bright star in the darkness and gloom which followed

the loss of Ticonderoga; it aroused the inhabitants of Vermont and the surrounding territory to turn out in ever-increasing numbers to the defense of their homes, their firesides and their liberties, until Burgoyne was impelled to burst forth in lament:

" 'The New Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left.' "

So spoke Hon. W. S. Fenton, of Rutland, before over five thousand people at the Hubbardton sesqui-centennial celebration.

The Battle of Bennington—Though fought in New York State six miles from where the majestic monument now stands, though New Hampshire had the most troops and the officer in command was General John Stark of the same State, though Massachusetts also contributed its quota, it will always be known in history as the battle of Bennington, with Colonel Seth Warner dividing the honors with General Stark. Colonel Baum had command of the British forces, which included, besides veteran English soldiers, Canadians, Hessians and a hundred Indians. The latter proved the weakest arm of defense of any of Baum's soldiers, as they broke and ran at the first onslaught of lead and powder. Colonel Baum had a portion of his troops entrenched on the hill above the Walloomsac River, with the Canadians at the foot. His cannon-fire was a waste of powder and ball, as the shot went over the heads of General Stark's troops. Just before the fighting began, which General Stark afterwards said was the hottest he ever saw, he uttered that famous order which may be read on the monument marking his camping ground, "There are the red coats and they are ours or this night Molly Stark sleeps a widow." The fight soon became a hand-to-hand encounter, and quite similar to the trench warfare of the World War, as the American forces stormed the hill and Colonel Baum was mortally wounded. Just as the victors were dividing the spoils news came of the advance of another British contingent. It was Breymann's force, who soon met their defeat at the hands of Colonel Seth Warner and his fresh troops. "He bore the brunt of the engagement at Hubbardton in July, 1777, and was General Stark's right-hand man at the battle of Bennington." The second battle was even fiercer than the first, and the trophies of the two engagements were four brass fieldpieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty sabres, four ammunition wagons, 8,900 stand of arms, 658 prisoners. The British left 207 dead on the field, while the Americans had only thirty killed and forty wounded. "On the one side the untrained militia of New Eng-



GENERAL JOHN STARK

land, on the other a mixed force of British, Hessians and Indians, hardly more than 3,500 in all, yet no single engagement of the World War was more far-reaching in its effect, more potent in the determination of final victory." Thus wrote President Coolidge from his summer home in the Black Hills, as he regretfully declined the invitation to participate in the sesqui-centennial exercises at Bennington in August, 1927, which attracted a crowd of nearly fifty thousand people. Baroness Riesdel, who was with her husband in this campaign, refers to the result of the battle as having "paralyzed at once the operations of the British army"; and because of its subsequent effect upon the surrender at Saratoga, Creasy considers this struggle as one of the decisive battles of the world.

The Stars and Stripes First Flown at Bennington—The flag that was carried by General Stark's troops was preserved by Nathaniel Fillmore, grandfather of President Fillmore, whose farm was near the site of the battle. It is now one of the choicest relics of the Bennington Battle Monument Association and preserved in the Bennington Historical Museum. As a result of much patient research, Hon. John Spargo, of Bennington, president of the Vermont Historical Society, has proved that the flag at the battle of Bennington bore upon a blue field thirteen white stars. The flag used at Fort Stanwix had the cross of St. Andrew, but was without stars. To quote from Dr. Daniel L. Cady, it was this flag that

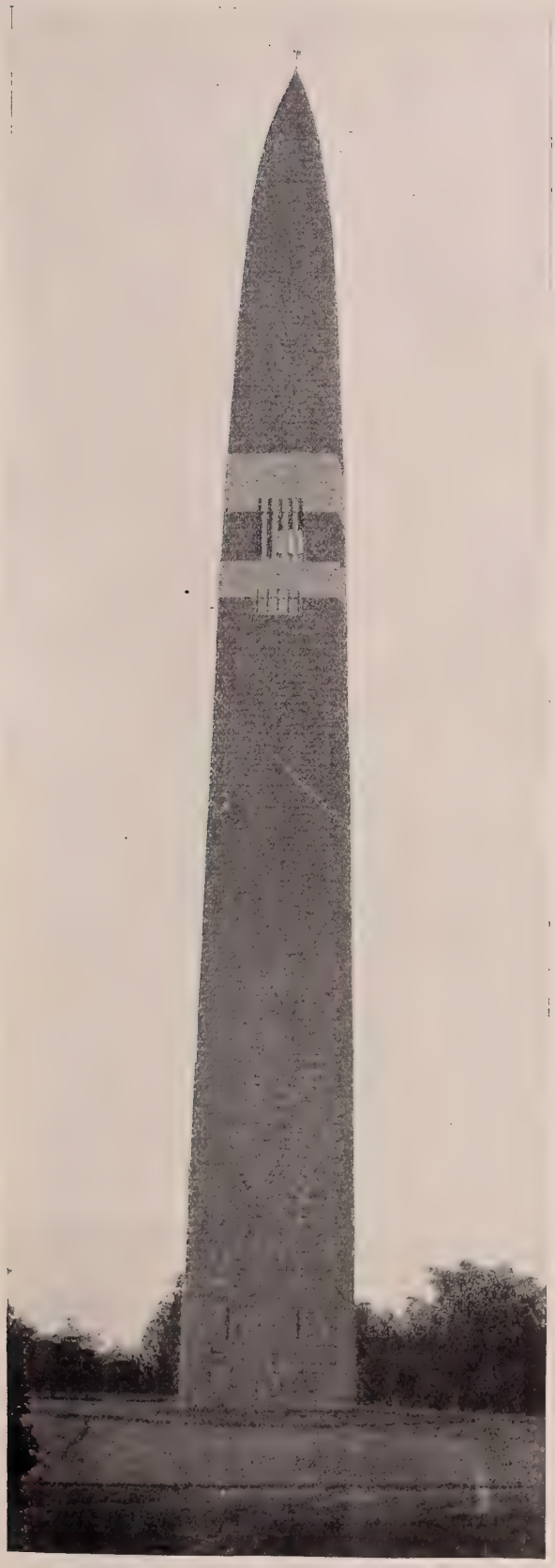
> Here first on land in battle waved, and saw that battle won,
> Here couraged on the Boys that took the hill at Bennington.

The Bennington Monument—Near the spot where the Americans had the stores the British never captured stands the tallest battle monument in the world, completed in 1889. Congress appropriated $40,000, half the required amount; Vermont, $15,000; Massachusetts, $10,000; New Hampshire, $5,000, and $10,000 was raised by the Bennington Battle Monument Association. The cornerstone, weighing about five tons, was laid June 4, 1887, and the capstone, which was laid two years later, weighed over two tons. The total cost of the monument, site and laying out the grounds exceeded $112,000. It is 306 feet, 4½ inches high, and built of Sandy Hill dolomite. The rectangular iron staircase was modeled after one in the Farnese Palace, in Rome. It has thirty-four flights, with a total of four hundred and seventeen steps. In the outlook room one has a sweep of the entire country round about, while on the walls are tablets of the Masonic fraternity, the Odd Fellows, the Grand Army and the Vermont Historical Society.

Mr. Phelps' Address at the Dedication—Massachusetts went to New Hampshire for the orator when Bunker Hill Monument was dedicated, but there was no need of going outside the State for the speaker of the day when Hon. Edward J. Phelps was still living in Burlington. "Scholar, diplomat, lawyer, orator," said Judge Frank L. Fish in his Bennington address, "his message must go down with the great monument which he had so much to do in erecting, and to which he gave by words, as immortal as itself, its significance." In his peroration, Mr. Phelps said:

> Crowned with the snows of countless winters, beautiful in the sunlight and shadows of unnumbered summers, companion to the mountains which look down upon it, whose height it emulates, whose strength it typifies, whose history it declares. . . . Its silence shall be perpetually eloquent; its teachings shall never cease. It shall carry forward the history of those early days, of all, that made Bennington heroic, and all that Bennington brought to pass. It shall tell the story not only of Stark and Warner, and Chittenden and Symonds, the Allens and the Fays and the Robinsons, and their compeers, but of that multitude of their humbler associates, less conspicuous, but just as devoted, who lived and who died for Vermont, whose names are only written in the memory of God. The child shall learn from these stones the first instincts of patriotism. The wayfarer, to whose ear our English tongue conveys no sense, shall not fail of their meaning. And all the dwellers upon the soil, as the years go on, shall be reminded and admonished what manner of man an American ought to be.

The War of 1812—The second war with England was preceded by various acts of aggression on Great Britain's part and by the passage by Congress of embargo acts both on land and sea. As traffic on Lake Champlain had become quite brisk and the international border extended the entire length of the northern boundary of Vermont, there was considerable smuggling across the invisible line both before and during the war. This led to a special proclamation by President Jefferson on April 19, 1808, in which he referred to "insurrections against the authority of the laws of the United States," ordering the proper officials to quell such insurrections and arrest all concerned. This naturally irritated the Vermonters. The citizens of St. Albans called a special town meeting denouncing these accusations, and in a protest, addressed to "Thomas Jefferson, Esq., President of the United States," declared that he was misinformed, and petitioned to have the land embargo act discontinued. But smuggling continued just the same on both land and water. The "Black Snake" operated quite profitably on Lake Champlain, until it was captured by the enemy on the Winooski River, one of the crew executed and the rest imprisoned. Nor was the smuggling all one



BENNINGTON BATTLE MONUMENT

way, for during the war the British claimed that two-thirds of their army in Canada lived on Vermont beef smuggled across the line by American contractors.

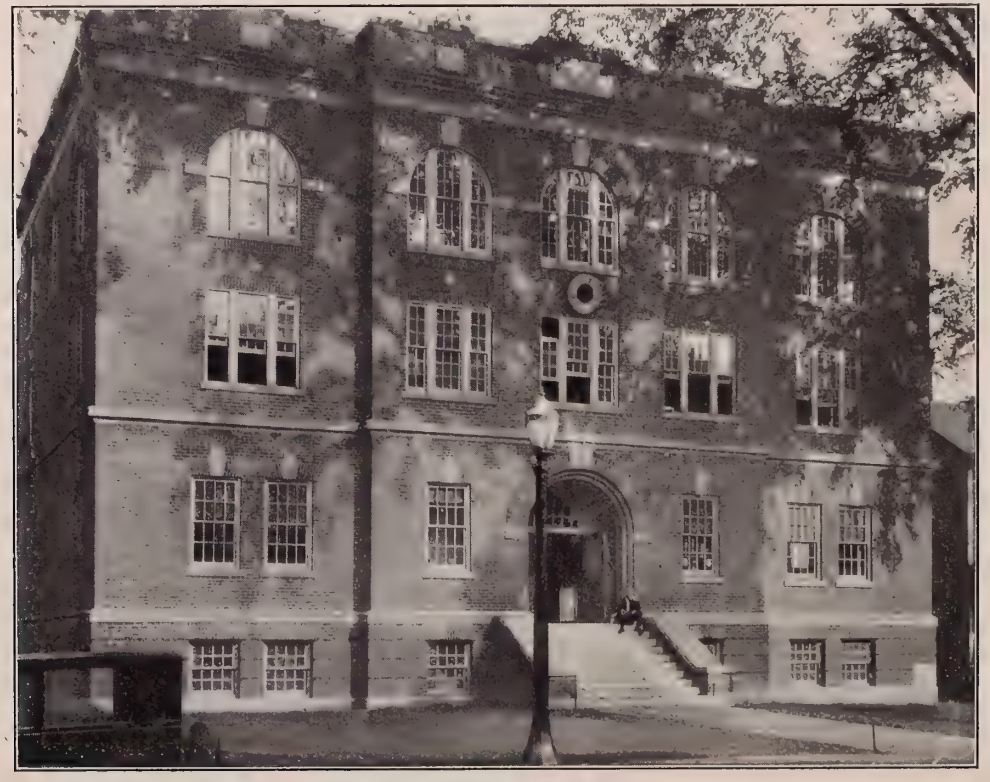
Commodore Macdonough's Victory on Lake Champlain—In "The Naval War of 1812," Theodore Roosevelt declares that the battle on Lake Champlain was the greatest naval battle of the war, and says of Commodore Macdonough that "down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history." This young hero, just past twenty-seven years, was a lieutenant when on September 26, 1812, he was ordered to take "immediate command of the naval forces on Lake Champlain." In giving him these orders, the Secretary of the Navy added, "You are to understand that on no account are you to suffer the enemy to gain the ascendancy on Lake Champlain, and as you have now unlimited authority to procure the necessary resources of men, materials and munitions for that purpose, I rely upon your efficient and prudent use of the authority vested in you." Two years later, on September 11, 1814, as a commodore, he met the enemy off Cumberland Head with four ships, the "Saratoga," "Eagle," "Ticonderoga," "Preble," and ten gunboats—in all fourteen vessels, of 2,244 tons and 882 men. The British fleet, commanded by Captain Downie, consisted of sixteen vessels, with over 900 men and a few more guns than the American fleet. It was a fierce encounter, and at the first broadside forty of Commodore Macdonough's men on the flagship "Saratoga" were killed or wounded. But after two hours the battle was won and the British vanquished.

The Land Battle at Plattsburg—While Commodore Macdonough was winning his naval victory, General Alexander Macomb was leading our troops to victory on the banks of the Saranac River. In his army were twenty-five hundred Vermont volunteers, under the command of General Samuel Strong and Major Jesse Lyman, both residents of Vergennes. As a result of this battle the Americans lost only one hundred and nineteen, while the British lost vast stores of ammunition and provisions, and in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters twenty-five hundred men. The Vermont volunteers were thanked by General Macomb; later by Governor Chittenden, who had visited Vergennes in April, where a thousand volunteers from Addison, Chittenden and Franklin counties were stationed; and last, but not least, receiving the thanks from the general government—"to the brave and patriotic citizens of the State for their prompt succor and gallant conduct in the late critical state of the frontier."

Building the Fleet at Vergennes—Macdonough had come to Vermont from Portland, Maine, when ordered to take command of the Lake Champlain campaign, making the journey across three States on horseback. In the summer of 1813 he lost a couple of sloops to the British, but was promoted to commodore the same year. The winter of 1813-14 saw Macdonough at Vergennes where, securely sheltered from any British attack by the winding course of the Otter Creek, he built the ships that won the war. He was assisted by a shipbuilder from New York, furnished by the Navy Department, and the "Saratoga," of 734 tons, was launched forty days after the trees had been felled from the neighboring woods. Two furnaces in this ancient city were also busy casting cannon shot. Much of this was used later as chain shot, with holes bored in the cannon and the two balls fastened together with a chain. When fired at the enemy's ships they cut the shrouds and everything else right off. Once when Commodore Macdonough was working in his office at Vergennes one of the militia men accidentally discharged his musket, the ball coming too uncomfortably near Macdonough. Later, in consultation as to keeping the militia, Macdonough said: "If you will take your militia home I will take care of the fleet. I am in more danger from your men than the enemy."

The Mexican War—When President Polk called for volunteers for the war with Mexico which started in 1845 a Vermont company was soon recruited. In Dana"s "History of Woodstock" one learns that, under command of Captain Kimball, of Woodstock, it formed a part of the 9th Regiment, and that its colonel was Truman R. Ransom, a Vermonter who had been a military instructor first at Norwich University and later at a Southern military institution. "The regiment was attached to the brigade of General Pierce, in General Pillow's division, under General Scott. The army of Americans, always outnumbered, often three to one, by the enemy, could not have fought more bravely in a better cause; and the little band of Green Mountain Boys gave gallant proof that, in the more than thirty years which had elapsed since they were last called forth to battle, the valor of their race had not abated. Colonel Ransom fell while leading his regiment in a charge at Chepultepec; and the Vermont company was one of the foremost at the storming of the castle, it being claimed for Captain Kimball and Sergeant-Major Fairbanks that they hauled down the Mexican colors and raised the Stars and Stripes above the captured fortress."

Vermont's Share in the Civil War—That the little State of Vermont furnished to the Civil War 34,000 volunteers out of a total en-



STATE ARMORY—BRATTLEBORO

rollment of 37,000 men speaks highly of its patriotism, but that the Legislature that authorized their organization was summoned a day earlier than any other similar body in the Northern States; that Vermont troops were the first to make intrenchments on Southern soil, and made the first attack on Confederate fortifications was due in a large measure to the careful preparation for the irrepressible conflict made in the months previous to the actual warfare by our war Governor, Erastus Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury. He had been Chief Executive a decade before, when his last official act was his signature to the prohibitory law which remained on our statute books for fifty years.

No man in the State could have been selected better fitted for the trying and arduous work to be done, and he entered with his whole soul into the conflict for the preservation of the Union. His first official act was to appoint a day of fasting and prayer on January 4, 1861, "in view of the present critical condition of our common country." His pastor, Rev. E. C. Cummings, who got a leave of absence to serve as chaplain, well said of him in his funeral address a few years later, "He was a man everywhere intent upon doing a Christian man's work; staunch in faith and free in thought."

Governor Andrew's Message—On the day following the issuance of the fast-day proclamation he wrote Governor Buckingham of Connecticut asking his advice as to the expediency of legislation looking to the coöperation of the free States in putting down a rebellion, should the plans of all the secessionists succeed and the capital be taken. That very evening he received a letter from Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, informing him that Washington was going to be taken before Lincoln's inauguration on the 4th of March; that he was going to mobilize part of the State Militia for active service, and he suggested that Governor Fairbanks do the same.

What's in a name? The messenger bearing this startling information was named Wardrop, colonel of the Third Massachusetts Militia and a resident of New Bedford. He was, however, a mighty poor diplomat, as in driving through Vermont to St. Johnsbury to find Governor Fairbanks he freely spoke of his important errand. As a consequence, the Vermont and the New Bedford papers announced that Colonel Wardrop had been sent from the Governor of Massachusetts to the Governor of Vermont to urge the enlistment and equipment of the militia in anticipation of a requisition from the President. This created such excitement that it was decided to make an official denial of the whole matter, and the denial was printed and the incident soon forgotten.

Governor Andrew sent a similar message to each of the New England governors, advising each to convene the Legislature and equip the State Militia for active service. This suggestion of another executive was received by Governor Fairbanks with the caution and deliberation which characterized both his public and private acts. He wrote the Vermont delegation in Congress for their views. In the Senate were two leaders of that body, Collamer and Foot, while Justin S. Morrill was a member of the House. Acting on their advice, a special session of the Legislature was not called, but he did authorize the Vermont Senators to inform President Buchanan that he stood ready to respond to any requisition for troops should their services be needed.

Vermont Troops Unprepared—No one knew better than Governor Fairbanks how poorly the Vermont troops were prepared for war. June trainings on the village green were the only military maneuvers of the day, and they had become a joke. When Governor Fletcher held a muster at Brandon in 1858 only nine companies appeared, and there were less than 450 old muskets in the entire outfit. One of the features of the occasion was a torchlight procession. When Governor Fairbanks succeeded Governor Hall he found there were twenty-two organized companies in the State, but only five had a little more than a nominal existence. The total military property of the State consisted of less than a thousand muskets, seven six-pounder field-pieces, 503 pistols, which were described by the quartermaster-general as "of no practical use whatever,'" and 104 tents.

Fully aware of the grave situation of unpreparedness, Governor Fairbanks issued, on January 25, 1861, that famous State document known as "General Order No. 10," herewith reproduced from the original copy:

"GENERAL ORDER NO. 10"

"It is hereby ordered that the commanding officers of each company of Uniformed Militia ascertain at once whether any man in their commands are unable or indisposed to respond to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, made upon any requisition of the President of the United States, to aid in the maintenance of the laws and the peace of the Union, that they may be discharged and their places filled by men ready for any public exigency which may arise.

"If any companies have not the number of men allowed by law, the commanders of the same will make proper exertions to have the vacancies filled and the men properly drilled and uniformed.

"Commanding officers of the companies will also cause the name of each member, together with his rank and place of residence, to be properly recorded, and a copy of the same to be forwarded to this office.

"By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

"H. HENRY BAXTER,
"Adjutant and Inspector General."



STATE ARMORY—BARRE

The officers of the militia received this order with little recognition of its importance or its mandate. One asked to be excused, as he did not think the order was in accordance with any law of the State or under authority. Another said his company had only flintlock muskets, and inasmuch as the State had not furnished them with better equipment his company did not care to respond. But the officers of ten companies replied, and 376 men in Vermont were reported armed, partly equipped and ready for service.

Governor Fairbanks appointed a second fast day on April 4, setting the day apart for fasting and prayer "that our Heavenly Father will avert from us the calamity of civil war and dispose the people to peace, and to the cultivation of a spirit of fraternal respect and forbearance."

Ten days later Fort Sumter fell into the hands of the Confederates, the news reaching here on the evening of April 15. With it came the following telegram:

"To His Excellency, Erastus Fairbanks, governor of Vermont: Call made on you by tonight's mail for one regiment for immediate service.

"SIMON CAMERON,
"Secretary of War."

Twenty-four Hours Ahead of Other Governors—Governor Fairbanks' proclamation for an extra session of the Legislature bore the same date as President Lincoln's proclamation, and antedated by at least twenty-four hours that of any other governor in the Northern States.

It was just at this time that he wrote a personal friend:

What a fearful account; what a dreadful retribution awaits the wicked authors of the rebellion. The conflict is fearful for us, involving as it does the loss of so many thousands of our noble youth; still the price is not too great for the inestimable boon of a free popular government, when threatened by an odious oligarchy and despotism.

Within eight days the Legislature had convened and Governor Fairbanks in a lengthy address gave a masterly and comprehensive résumé of the situation and the events incident to the beginning of the great rebellion. In that body there was a Democratic war horse, Stephen Thomas of West Fairlee, and when the committee on military affairs reported a bill appropriating $500,000 to defray the expenses of the war, he shouted, "Make it a million," and the larger amount was unanimously voted, the twenty-six Democrats all joining with ten times as many Republican members in the vote.

These men were better patriots than singers, however, for when

some proposed that they rise and sing "The Star Spangled Banner," everybody was on their feet, but no one could sing and the solons sat down humiliated by their display of misdirected patriotism. They retrieved themselves at the evening session by having a choir of twenty-five singers in the gallery. Each of the singers was provided with a flag and when the chorus started the song the members all joined as heartily as they could.

In Praise of Vermont—In a session of only four days two regiments had been given authorization to organize, with discretionary powers given the Governor to organize four more if the exigencies of the war demanded it. Commenting on the speedy and patriotic action of this special session the "New York World" said:

"Vermont has a population of about 300,000, mostly farmers, and yet has made an appropriation of not less than $1,000,000 to aid in maintaining the Stars and Stripes. Many of our States have done nobly, but none, resources considered, have equalled this. Vermonters, too, are organizing in all parts of the State, and there will be no more formidable men in the field. The pure atmosphere of the mountains develops the strongest breed of patriots."

It is true that Vermonters in the State were alert and so were those elsewhere. Frederick Billings, later a most distinguished Vermonter and then a citizen of California, and Henry Stevens, the noted antiquarian, were in London. They, in company with Colonel John C. Fremont spent much time at the American Embassy to help educate the British public regarding the real condition of American affairs. Money from private sources was freely contributed to the State treasury. Trenor W. Park, a resident of Bennington living at that time in California, sent his check for one thousand dollars by pony express. Another citizen of Bennington, Thomas McDaniels, gave one hundred thousand dollars and James R. Langdon of Montpelier offered the State double that amount. Two Montpelier banks each placed twenty-five thousand dollars at the State's disposal and one Burlington bank offered ten per cent of its capital.

Telegram from Lincoln—Among the score of telegrams from Washington highly prized in the family of Governor Erastus Fairbanks' grandchildren is one, and only one, from President Lincoln. It is marked "Strictly private and confidential" and is as follows:

"Washington is in grave danger. What may we expect of Vermont?"

"A. Lincoln."

And on the back of the telegram is penciled what is undoubtedly



STATE ARMORY—BENNINGTON

the reply of Governor Fairbanks, "Vermont will do its full duty." And it did.

The First Regiment rendezvoused at Rutland with Captain John W. Phelps of Brattleboro as colonel and Peter T. Washburn of Woodstock, lieutenant-colonel. Governor Fairbanks was there on May 8, and presented the regiment the regimental standard and the flag. The latter was of silk, while the standard was painted on white silk and was five by six feet in diameter. The design was the State arms, with military surroundings, flags, flowers and other suitable accompaniments of rich scroll work in gilt, etc. In presenting the flag to Colonel Phelps the Governor said, among other things:

> These private and these company officers are not hired mercenaries, but citizen soldiers, esteemed and beloved by their fellow citizens, and worthy of the confidence and regard of their superior officers. Patriotic and fearless, they will follow where you shall lead them, they will go where you may send them. But, Sir, I charge you to remember that this flag represents but one star in that other flag which I now have the honor of presenting you, bearing the national emblem, the Stars and Stripes; Vermont claims no separate nationality. Her citizens ever loyal to the union and the national constitution, all, in this time of the nation's peril rally in their strength for the preservation of the national government and the honor of our country's flag—the flag of the Union.

In Battle of Big Bethel—The regiment left for New York the next day and within a month fought in the battle of Big Bethel. This was Vermont's beginning in the great war and it is a record of which every Vermonter may well be proud.

Writing of the official service of Governor Erastus Fairbanks to a biographer of that day his secretary of civil and military affairs, Colonel George A. Merrill, said:

> Our people, unused to large public expenditures, it is true kept a jealous eye upon all his acts, but never, to their praise, with a thought of any dereliction of duty or misuse of power on the part of the executive.
>
> At the close of his official duties, at which he labored assiduously and almost without rest, wholly withdrawing himself from his private business, to its great detriment, the Legislature at its October session, in 1861, appointed, by his request, a special committee to examine and audit his accounts, upon whose report resolutions complimentary to his ability and patriotic devotion were unanimously passed.
>
> The salary to which he was entitled was never touched and remained in the treasury of the State, another evidence of his generous love for Vermont, whose interests were dearer to him than his own, and an honor to both people and executive.

This is not the place to give in detail the splendid service of the

Vermont troops in the Civil War, and the reader will find it extremely profitable to peruse the official history written by Colonel George Grenville Benedict, long editor of the "Burlington Free Press," who says in the introduction to his notable work:

"This is the war record of a small and rural Commonwealth, heavily drained of its able-bodied men by emigration, without large towns or floating population, and having thus much less than the average proportion of the material out of which modern armies are made—but which, nevertheless, sent to the war ten men for every one hundred of its population. . . . The Vermonters were eminently men of peace, but they won honorable distinction as soldiers. The history of the war cannot be written without frequent and honorable mention of them. A Vermont regiment was the first to throw up the sacred soil of Virginia into Union intrenchments. Vermont troops made the first assault upon a Confederate fortification. In almost every great battle fought in the succeeding years by the Army of the Potomac, Vermonters took an honorable part. In the turning point of the turning struggle of the war on the red and slippery slopes of Gettysburg, in the dark jungle of the Wilderness, and in the final piercing of the defenses of Richmond they took a decisive part. Vermonters led the Blue column which bore the Stars and Stripes through the blazing streets of the Confederate capitol, in the closing scenes of the bloody drama, and Vermont soldiers were in motion upon the last charge of the war at Appomattox, when it was arrested by the surrender of Lee. The war ended, and the enemies of the Union could point to the colors of no Vermont organization that had been yielded to them in action; while the troops of no other State could claim more rebel colors taken in battle, in proportion to their total numbers, than stood credited to the troops of Vermont. Vermont had more of her sons killed in battle than any other Northern State, and gave to the cause of the Union more lives lost from all causes than any other State."

Dewey and Clark in the Spanish-American War—The First Vermont Regiment, under the command of Colonel O. D. Clark, of Montpelier, never got nearer the fighting line in the one hundred days' war than Chickamauga Park. The regiment consisted of forty-seven officers and nine hundred and eighty men, of which twenty-seven men died while in service. Conditions at the camp were almost intolerable, eighty-six of the regiment were in the hospital on one occasion, and on the trip home there were two hundred and fourteen cases of sickness. Vermont's contribution to this war was on sea and not on land, and the fame of Admiral George Dewey, who



STATUE OF ADMIRAL CLARK
Courtesy of Colonel Harry E. Parker



REAR-ADMIRAL CHARLES E. CLARK, OF VERMONT, FAMOUS CAPTAIN OF THE OREGON

captured the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, and of Captain Charles E. Clark, who brought the "Oregon" around Cape Horn, will never die. Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, favored Commodore Dewey for the head of the Asiatic squadron, but President McKinley evidently had another officer in mind. The good offices of Senator Redfield Proctor prevailed with the Chief Executive, and it so happened that the order sending Dewey to Manila Bay was issued by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy during his chief's absence. The rest is history. Admiral Dewey's birthplace in Montpelier escaped the ravages of the flood, and Dewey Day in Montpelier was a fitting recognition of the victory of Manila Bay and the Vermonter whose name will ever be associated with this event. The grade and rank of Admiral was revived for Dewey's benefit, and he shares with Farragut and Porter this honored and well-won title.

Equally dramatic in its execution, though less hazardous, was the voyage of the battleship "Oregon" around Cape Horn just before the naval battle at Santiago Bay. It was performed without accident, and the California-built ship made its journey of nearly 15,000 miles in sixty-six days. A bronze statue of the Admiral stands in Bradford's park, erected by the Bradford Memorial Park Association, whose energetic president is Colonel Harry E. Parker, publisher of the "Bradford Opinion." At the dedication of this statue at Bradford, October 12, 1926, President Coolidge sent this tribute:

> Called upon for an extraordinary service in bringing the U. S. S. "Oregon" around Cape Horn in the emergency of the Spanish-American War, he was prepared, and he accomplished the dangerous task with swiftness and skill. He justified the confidence which our country always has had in our naval establishment.

The address of the occasion on that great day was delivered by the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Curtis D. Wilbur. In the course of a speech which abounded in naval reminiscences of the Admiral, the Secretary paid this notable tribute to the great deeds of the Vermonters of the earlier days:

> Admiral Clark tells us that when confronted with his most difficult problem he gained inspiration for his decision from the history of the gallant Vermonters who fought in the Revolutionary War and in the Civil War, and that his determination to assume the hazard of meeting the entire Spanish fleet single handed was in part the result of their heroic example so that Vermont made a contribution to his success, not only by the influence of its living citizens, upon his forming character, but also by the deeds of her citizens who had passed from the stage of action before he entered upon it.

The Civilians' Part in the War—In none of the country's wars have Vermont citizens been more prominent and influential than in this short war, both at its beginning and in the years immediately afterwards, in taking up the white man's burden in the Philippines. Entirely on his own initiative, Senator Redfield Proctor, announcing that he was going to the West Indies tarpon-fishing, left Washington in the spring of 1898 to investigate conditions in Cuba. These were so intolerable that he told what he had seen in a forceful speech in the Senate, which was soon followed by President McKinley's message that brought on the war. There was no doubt but what the Vermont Senator's speech had crystalized public sentiment to a point that only war could follow. Some years afterwards President Roosevelt said, while speaking in Vermont, "I knew that when Senator Proctor made that speech, with his influence, there could be but one possible outcome, and the next morning I started to find the quickest way to get to the front."

It was Senator Jonathan Ross, of St. Johnsbury, that pointed the way to President McKinley's policy in the Philippines, in a speech in the Senate on the relation of the Constitution to our new colonies, a speech which elicited the highest praise from press and people alike. And when President McKinley appointed the first Philippine Commission, one of its members was Hon. Henry C. Ide, of St. Johnsbury, and, another, Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan and a native of Thetford. Mr. Ide was first Secretary of Finance and Justice, and in this capacity stabilized the currency and codified the laws. Before he left the islands he was Governor General, and in accepting his resignation in 1906 Secretary of War Taft said, "The President wishes to express his high appreciation for the great value of your earnest and able services for the last six years." Among the Vermonters who served in this period in these far-off islands were Hon. Mason S. Stone, of Montpelier, Commissioner of Education, and Hon. Henry C. Bates, of St. Johnsbury, judge of the Court of the First Instance at Iloilo.

Vermont in the World War—This has been so well and fully told in the recent history published by legislative authority that little more remains to be said. In the last war it was decided to break up all State organizations, and, as a result, Vermonters found themselves all over the world. Some were in the tropical Canal Zone, while others were sent to the frozen Siberian steppes. Thousands stayed in Southern camps anxiously awaiting orders that never came to send them overseas, while other thousands fought disease in the trenches and Germans at the Hindenburg line. The spirit



REAR-ADMIRAL HENRY T. MAYO

of Ethan Allen and Seth Warner was again abroad, and those too old to enlist, or too young or incapacitated, just as loyally did their bit at home. The State that hasn't a mile of seacoast again furnished the naval chief, as Admiral Henry T. Mayo, a native and now a resident of Burlington, was Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, with Commodore Leigh Noyes, of St. Johnsbury, as flag secretary and fleet communication officer. Admiral Mayo was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, and, by the Japanese Government, Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun. The presidents of our higher institutions of learning set a fine example for the students, and the whole State responded to the need of the hour. Colonel Ira L. Reeves resigned the presidency of Norwich University to return to the regular army. President Benton left the University of Vermont for Young Men's Christian Association work abroad. President Thomas had been chaplain of the First Vermont Regiment, Vermont National Guard, and the rank of first lieutenant was bestowed upon him before the end of the war because of notably meritorious service. The present president of Middlebury, Paul D. Moody, succeeded him as Chaplain of the First Vermont, and before the close of the war was on the General Staff of Chaplains. Every town and city had young men, and in many instances young women, with the Colors. An examination of the tables in the Roster shows that to only sixty-one towns did they all come back.

> The anguish and the pain have passed
> And peace hath come to them at last,
> But in the stern looks linger still
> The iron purpose and the will.

Vermont's Contribution—Just as in the Civil War, there was a far-sighted Governor who believed in preparedness, so in the last war Vermont had in Governor Graham a Chief Executive who felt that sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—the United States would be drawn into the titanic struggle. And while the Legislature was in session measures were adopted that avoided an extra session when the war actually came, and Vermont entered the conflict as well prepared as, if not better, than any State in the Union. And so Governor Graham's summary in his own story in "Vermont in the World War" forms a fitting close to this chapter:

> Vermont appropriated one million dollars for public defense six days before the declaration of war. She spent nearly one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to furnish the Vermont regiment with essentials prior to its call into Federal service and authorities agree it was the best equipped regiment at

Camp Bartlett. The Division comprised of Vermont and the other New England troops was the first in France and the first National Guard division on the firing line.

In 1910, State pay of $10 per month was provided for all her volunteers and by the same act the care of dependent relatives was provided for. In 1919 the State pay was extended to all Vermont residents inducted into the service by the Selective Service Act and to all women enlisted in the Army or Navy.

In May, 1917, Vermont became one of the first States to organize an adequate number of companies of Home Guards. These men were at once uniformed, equipped and efficiently drilled.

In September, 1917, there was held at Rutland the first State War Convention of its kind. The British, French, Italian and Japanese governments were represented. A second State War Convention was held at Montpelier on May 10, 1918.

On March 5, 1918, a Win-the-War meeting was held in every town and city in the State at the same hour. Patriotic speeches were made and proper resolutions adopted.

In the first draft Vermont stood fifth among the States in the ratio of enlistment credits, and so many volunteered while the draft was in progress that she was not required to furnish the last 15 per cent. of the quota.

In proportion to her population, Vermont during the first year of the war had more soldiers in France than were there from any other State.

Eleven admirals were born in Vermont, a State without a mile of sea coast, and in this war she kept her maximum in the Navy filled with troops.

Vermont's entire population is exceeded by cities such as Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Newark, Minneapolis, and yet Vermont furnished over fifteen thousand men for active service, or one man to less than each seven of her male population between the ages of nineteen and fifty.

In March, 1917, the Vermont Committee of Public Safety was organized, consisting of fifty-seven members and forty-six district committees, and in less than six weeks after the declaration of war these committees carried an active patriotic campaign into every community of the State. The committee as a whole protected the people of Vermont by investigation and approval of worthy campaigns for the solicitation of funds for war relief and charity. Each solicitor was required to exhibit a signed certificate authorizing the solicitation of funds for the particular campaign in progress.

To every loan and war endeavor Vermont responded. When those in authority set the goal her citizens in every case exceeded their quota before the required time.

Vermont is a rural State with no city of size and her people are well scattered. They are, however, a hard working and prosperous people and they gave not alone of their sons for active service but, as well, of their means for the securement of victory.

In the second Liberty Loan campaign one Vermont savings bank made a record unchallenged throughout the country with the sale of the largest amount of Liberty Bonds in proportion to its deposits.

Under direction of the Commissioner of Education, training in various industries was provided for men subject to the draft, and by such training valuable officer material was developed to meet government needs promptly.

In February, 1918, the State Board of Education published "The War Book," a textbook to teach patriotism and thrift among the young. This book is said to be the first of its kind in the broad scope of endeavor which it so carefully covered and its good work was felt throughout the State. Following the letter of this book the department instructed its teachers how to dispense with less essential work in school courses during the war in order that boys and girls might have more time for food gardens.

The result in 1918 was thirty thousand boys and girls forming her Green Mountain Guard, enrolled for food production, and there was raised sixty-five thousand bushels of potatoes, seven thousand bushels of beans, nearly seventy-five thousand bushels of other garden produce, and over fifty thousand quarts of fruits and vegetables were canned. The enrollment was still larger in 1918, the amount of food was much greater, and the money value of the food raised by the boys and girls of Vermont during the two years was well up to the three-quarters of a million dollars.

The citizens of Vermont exceeded her quota in every war endeavor, in the Liberty Loans, the War Savings Stamp sales and the Smileage Books. In the American Red Cross she took a front rank. She carried on with great success the Young Men's Christian Association work and the Young Women's Association work. Her Knights of Columbus took a prominent part in war work and war relief. The campaigns of the Salvation Army in the State were liberally supported. She assisted in the Armenian and Syrian relief, the War Camp Recreation work, the War Library work and the relief of the sufferers at Halifax, and her citizens were active in the Public Service Reserve. She early acquired the habit of filling her quota and going "over the top."

The people of the State, in point of numbers, formed but a very small part of the Nation, but the spirit shown by her inhabitants in the days long gone by, still lived in 1917 and 1918 in the breasts of all her stalwart men and women and now, as then and always, Vermonters bear their full burden with an unfaltering and grim determination.



CHAPTER VII

VERMONT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SLAVERY

No trembling slave yet breathed thy air
Who felt his shackles bind him there,
For by thy ancient "Bill of Rights"
All men stand equal on thy heights.

—JOHN H. FLAGG.

Vermont was never a country where slavery found a congenial soil; nor were its pioneers or their descendants free of that spirit of liberty which bred a hatred of slavery. When the gallant Allen and his Green Mountain Boys found negro slaves in the possession of the British prisoners he took at Ticonderoga (1777) he set them free. Of one Dinah Morris, a slave, Allen wrote, being "conscientious that it was not right in the sight of God to keep slaves" and he gave the woman a written certificate of freedom which was recorded in the town clerk's office at Bennington. This was at a time when Vermont was supposed to be a part of New York, in which State slavery was legal, so that this was the first of the many independent acts of Vermonters in relation to slavery which bordered upon the illegal. Until the Civil War settled the problem for all time, Vermont, while inclining her ear to all congressional promulgations, straightway proceeded to do as nearly as she pleased without coming into actual conflict with the national authorities.

When a constitution was adopted, at Windsor, in 1777, fourteen years before Vermont was admitted to the Union, an article was inserted in the first section of the first chapter which prohibited the holding of slaves. Thus was Vermont the first of all the United States to prohibit slavery by constitutional provision. To quote a part of this section of the "Declaration of Rights" as accepted: "Therefore, no male person, born in this country or brought over the sea, ought to be holden by law to serve any person as a . . . slave . . . after he arrives to the age of twenty-one; nor female in like manner, after she arrives at the age of eighteen years; unless they are bound by their consent after they have reached that age. . . . " The census of 1790 reported sixteen slaves held in Vermont, but it was later discovered that an error had been made in the publication of the returns from Bennington County, whereby sixteen "Free Colored" had been wrongly classed as "slaves." There was but one other

State, Massachusetts, which then included Maine, of all the districts reporting in the census, as having no slaves. The above-mentioned facts are the basis for the oft-repeated statement that no slave was ever owned in Vermont.

Slavery in Vermont—The statement needs looking into. Was it not possible that slavery did exist in the State in defiance of the Constitution? What is the implication of the act passed by the Vermont Legislature on October 30, 1786, prohibiting the sale and transportation of negroes and mulattoes? The pertinent part of the statute lies in the preamble of the act, a phrase of which reads, "And whereas instances have happened of former owners of negroes in this commonwealth, making sales of such persons as slaves, notwithstanding their being liberated by the constitution; and attempts have been made to transport such persons to foreign parts in open violation of the laws of the land. Be it therefore, etc." One may infer, at least, that slaves were held by Vermonters, even though illegally in the early days.

More to the point is the finding by H. S. Wardner, Esq., in 1890, among the neglected papers lying in the basement of the Town Hall at Windsor, the village where the Declaration of Rights was adopted, of a document purporting to be a copy of a bill of sale executed July 26, 1783, by Jotham White, of Charlestown, New Hampshire, to Stephen Jacob, of Windsor, Vermont, conveying a negro woman named Dinah. The paper bore the endorsement (July 20, 1801) of Stephen Jacob that the document was a true copy. Stephen Jacob was a lawyer and a distinguished person, a judge who had sworn to "be true and faithful to the State of Vermont; and that I will not directly or indirectly, do any act or thing injurious to the Constitution or Government thereof, as established by convention. So help me God." And he was not only a slave owner, but was made the defendant in a most notable suit involving the ownership of the said Dinah, whose sale to Jacob was not denied by either party. It was claimed by the overseers of the poor, that the defendant had owned in Windsor this woman for many years and kept her at work for him until about 1800, when she became "infirm, sick and blind," and then turned her out so that she became a public charge, a sum of $100 having been paid for her medical treatment and support. The suit was based on the idea that a slave owner was liable for the support of his slave as long as the ownership rested with him. The defense did not deny any of the evidence brought to show that Dinah had been purchased and served Jacob for seventeen years, was "a slave *de facto*." The accusation was made, however, that "several

of the inhabitants of Windsor, . . . discovering that she was an excellent servant, and wishing to profit themselves of her labors, inveigled her from her master's family and service by syren songs of liberty and equality, which have too often turned wiser heads." The claim was made that others had wasted the "vigour of her life," and now that she was incapable of labor desired the defendant to become *solely* responsible for her maintenance, whereas as a member of the corporate town he was, and must, bear a share of the burthen. The whole question was begged, and the case against Judge Jacob lost, on the plea, which Judge Royall Tyler, who was presiding, accepted, that, since the Constitution of the State prohibited slavery, the bill of sale was void. In the language of the layman, Dinah, although serving like a slave for years, was not a slave because the law said she could not be. It cost the town of Windsor $14.75 in costs to find out when a slave was not a slave, and it is to be supposed that the town authorities paid for the keep of Dinah until her death in 1809. H. S. Wardner, from whose article in the "Vermonter" this account of the first trial involving slavery has been summarized, after reference to the alleged meddling by the folk of Windsor with Judge Jacob's slave, concludes: "I find it pleasanter to believe that some of the people of Windsor, objecting to a continuance of what they thought to be slavery, did persuade the woman to quit her master than I do to believe that Judge Jacob dismissed the woman on account of her infirmity and age; but on the question whether the woman was or was not to all intents and purposes for seventeen years held a slave in Windsor, I express no opinion and leave it to the reader to judge."

Early Abolitionists—If black Dinah is a very small blemish on the fair fame of Vermont as an anti-slavery State, there were others, for it takes but a very small minority to attract a lot of attention, and Vermont always had a few who were ready to oppose any and all abolition movements. In 1828, a slim, bespectacled young man arrived in Bennington to join forces with a friend in the publishing of a newspaper to be known as the "Journal of Our Times." This was a party organ created to further the political fortunes of John Quincy Adams. The editor, who had practical experience as both printer and writer, was the slender young man, none other than William Lloyd Garrison, later to become famous for his efforts for the emancipation of the Nation's slaves. Garrison stipulated in coming to Bennington that he was to be free to carry on a propaganda, not only of the principles of the Whig party, but also of anti-slavery, temperance, peace and moral reform and a few other ideas. He did his

political work well; Adams secured a large majority of the votes of Vermont. Nor did he neglect the other features of his elaborate program. Through the postmasters of the many towns of the State he circulated his broadsides and petitions. One of the latter was signed by 2,352 persons asking that slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia. Under Jackson, postmasters were urged to prevent the forwarding of abolitionist mail matter. Garrison left Bennington after less than a year in Vermont to go to Baltimore, where his vigorous expressions of his anti-slavery views landed him in jail. Judge Wendell P. Stafford, in a poem "Garrison at Bennington," thus eulogizes his departure:

> Forth from this place the summoned warrior went,
> Snow-white in armor, and the sword in hand
> Which from its aim was never to be bent
> Till slavery died upon a blood-soaked land
> Fit spot—most fit—for that high trumpet call
> That comes one day, welcomed or spurned, to all.

There was another man in Vermont, Oliver Johnson, of Peacham, who became a noted abolitionist and delivered a speech against slavery in Montpelier, July 4, 1828. Two years later he met Garrison, and, charmed by Garrison's eloquence, became an ardent disciple of the cause. In 1831 he was publishing the "Christian Soldier" in Boston, and in 1840 took charge of the "Anti-Slavery Standard." Between these dates he was one of the twelve who organized the Abolition party, and during Garrison's absence in Europe edited the "Liberator." When he died, "Harper's Weekly" said of him:

> His name is not generally familiar, but he is the last survivor of a historic body of twelve men who organized the abolition movement which ended in the constitutional prohibition of slavery.

Danville adjoins the town of Johnson's birth, and that town gave to the United States Thaddeus Stevens, the "Old Commoner," who hated slavery with a hatred that knew no bounds. His contribution to the Nation was the Fourteenth Amendment, the reconstruction amendment which gave the negro the ballot. Of his great work, Judge Stafford has said:

> We see him defending the forlorn and helpless fugitive in the court of justice, freely devoting to the defence of liberty the skill and learning and eloquence which all the money of oppression could not buy; and when the law claims its victim we see him paying the ransom out of his slender store. We see him standing up alone against an unjust movement of the people and by the single might of moral earnestness defeating it and putting it to shame. We see him refusing to set his name to a state constitution that presumes to draw a line

between the sons of men according to the color of their skin. We see him at last in the halls of Congress facing the fiery and despotic South with a spirit as intense and uncompromising as its own. . . . Your work still stands in the very framework of free government where you imbedded it. Your spirit still lives in millions who accept without a question the principles you vindicated against the greatest odds.

Abolition sentiment in Vermont, as elsewhere in New England, did not down through lacking a personal leader, many joining the crusade despite a growing opposition to the extreme measures advocated. The antagonism of quite a number of the clergy was aroused by the criticism they received because favoring milder methods. The scheme of African colonization under the pretence of Christianizing Africa by shipping the free negroes to that country had a good-sized following in the State. It is to be feared that this was but a Southern-born scheme to get rid of the dangerous element of free blacks in this country and at the same time hoodwink those religiously inclined. The sentiment in the State seemed to be gravitating toward a restriction of slavery to existing limits. If human bondage was forbidden in the new States and Territories being formed—this was a quarter of a century before the outbreak of war —it would satisfy the majority of the Northern voters, at least for a start. But Abolitionists there were, and they used great freedom of speech, which was their right, and they were roughly treated, pelted with rotten eggs and suffered other indignities, which was not right. Rev. Samuel J. May, of Boston, held an anti-slavery meeting at Montpelier at which there were such violent demonstrations that his safety was threatened. A Quaker lady quietly stepped forward in the crisis, and taking his arm walked out through the turbulent mob, which at least had the decency to respect the lady and her escort. The minister was representing the recently formed Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, but after a deluge of bad eggs in Rutland concluded that the abolition sentiment had not developed enough to profit by his services. As has been indicated, abolition gradually subsided as a panacea for all the ills of human bondage being replaced by the desire to check the extension of slave territory, the question which soon became the absorbing subject of political controversy.

The State and Anti-Slavery—The same year that Rev. Samuel May was mobbed in the very shadow of the capitol the Legislature declared, that "neither Congress or State governments had any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of them through the public mail," and that Congress

had the legal power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1837 and 1838 the same body sent Congress strong resolutions of this same subject. In the latter year it declared that the adoption by the House of Representatives of a rule by which all petitions on the slavery question were automatically laid on the table unprinted and unread was "a daring infringement of the right of the people to petition and a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States." Again in 1839 like resolutions were passed, and in 1840 a statute was formulated providing that any alleged fugitive slave should have the right, when claimed in Vermont, of jury trial, well knowing what a jury of Vermonters would give as their verdict. In 1841 and 1842 there were more anti-slavery resolutions passed, particularly ones objecting to the admission of Texas as a slave State. During the session of the latter year the Legislature went so far as to state that Congress should stop the international slave traffic, and that the Constitution should be amended so as to prohibit slavery everywhere. Vermont was certainly taking some big strides in her emancipation progress, and getting somewhat in advance of her time.

A year later, and the Assembly enacted a law that no officer or citizen of the State should seize or assist in the seizure of "any person for the reason that he is or may be claimed as a fugitive slave." All were forbidden to have anything to do with the transportation of such persons in, through or out of the State, nor should a fugitive be imprisoned "in any jail or other building belonging to the State, or to any county, town, city, or person therein."

Political Aspects of Legislative Acts—It is but fair to recognize that a great deal of the legislative objections to slavery were political in their origin, however much humanitarian sentiments entered into the question. When Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791 she was soon followed by Kentucky, a slave State. Until 1845 there had been as many slave States as free admitted up to 1846, and the desire of the North was to keep up this equality, or balance, between States. Hence the resolutions against bringing Texas into the fold, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the series of declarations and laws aimed at the hampering of slave owners' rights in Vermont. By one of those curious coincidences of history, in the war with Mexico which followed the admission of Texas into the Union, a war fought in the interests of slavery and mainly by Southerners, Vermont sent volunteers to the front, and it was Colonel Ransom, of Norwich and the military school there, who fell at the head of his regiment at Chepultepec, and it was a Vermont company which was foremost in the attack upon the castle. It is claimed

that Captain Kimball and Sergeant-Major Fairbanks hauled down the Mexican colors and raised the Stars and Stripes over the captured fortress. The vast territory which the Vermonters helped to gain from Mexico greatly complicated the problem of keeping down the spread of slavery. The compromise measures of 1850, whereby California was admitted as a free State and New Mexico and Utah organized as free Territories, and slave holding abolished in the District of Columbia, failed to reassure the North.

Vermont and Congress—The resolutions adopted by the State Legislature from time to time were read by our Senators and Representatives in the National Congress, thereby thrusting these men and the State into the limelight of the slavery negotiations. Vermont was recognized by the South as one of the most aggressive foes of the Southern institution, and the State's members of Congress opponents to be dreaded. The resolution of 1850, which began: "Resolved, That slavery is a crime against humanity and a sore evil in the body politic, etc.," was presented by Senator Phelps, who moved that they be printed. The Senator from Florida objected, as he considered them more insulting than any resolutions ever before presented to that body. Senator Phelps, of Vermont, defended the resolutions in one of the most notable speeches of a time when such orations were numerous. He insisted that they, "instead of being made a subject of reproach, should be treated as the sentiments of the civilized world." Senator Phelps, by the way, was a member of the famous "Committee of Thirteen," of which Henry Clay was the chairman, which had to consider the question of slavery in the territories and the various compromises proposed by Mr. Clay. It is said that Senator Phelps was the only advocate of the Wilmot Proviso on the committee.

The sending of resolutions by the Vermont Legislature became an annual affair, and they increased in their intensity and plain speech. They involved the State's Representatives in the National Congress in continual debate, and brought the hatred of the South upon their heads and Vermont. There were many vivid rejoinders to the irritating resolutions, which did not, however, silence the Vermont legislators. Governor Wise of Virginia, referring to one of these said, "We cannot reason with the heads of fanatics nor touch hearts fatally bent on treason." The Georgia Legislature was forever getting angry with Vermont. Once a member offered a resolution which he wished transmitted to the Governor of Vermont, declaring that Georgia would resist acts of aggression therein enumerated, "even, as a last resort, to the disruption of every tie that

binds her to the Union," and wanted the broadside sent north in a leaden bullet. This was in 1850, ten years before war. Others suggested that a coil of rope be sent with the resolutions of a bag of gun powder. As both enlightening and amusing, these resolutions are well worth repeating:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, That His Excellency the Governor be and is hereby requested to transmit the Vermont resolutions to the deep, dank, fetid sink of social and political iniquity from which they emanated, with the following unequivocal declaration inscribed thereon:

Resolved that Georgia, standing on her constitutional palladium, heeds not the maniac ravings of hell-born fanaticism, nor stoops from her lofty position to hold terms with perjured traitors.

In the Georgia Senate this resolution was offered:

Resolved, That His Excellency, President Pierce, be requested to employ a sufficient number of able-bodied Irishmen to proceed to the State of Vermont, and to dig a ditch around the limits of the same, and to float "the thing" into the Atlantic.

Vermont's resolutions on the Kansas difficulty brought forth the following from the Alabama Legislature:

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to place in the hands of his Negro boy Russell the resolutions received from the Governor of Vermont as relates to his message on Kansas, and that the Negro boy Russell be instructed to return them with his utter contempt of the course pursued by the Vermont Legislature, and that he, the said Negro boy, will not condescend to notice Vermont or its Governor any more, on the ground that the Vermont Legislature has made him equal, if not superior, to the white men of that State.

Vermont was not drawn into personal vituperation by the aspersions upon her character. The Legislature continued its series of enactments and resolutions even to defy the laws which would strengthen the slave powers. Strong men were sent to Congress to lead in opposition to the system of slavery. The State spoke well and consistently, just as it was later to act well and consistently, when the threats of the South "to disrupt every tie which bind her to the Union" became deeds.

Attitude Towards Fugitive Slaves—The Free Soil party, the refuge of anti-slavery voters, gave Van Buren in 1848 a plurality of votes in the State. In 1856 the State went for Fremont, of the new Republican party. Meanwhile President Taylor, in 1850, had fathered



CRYSTAL LAKE, BARTON

a more stringent fugitive slave law, and shortly after came the celebrated Dred Scott Decision. Vermont became more outspoken in her objection to slavery, "a crime against humanity," as the Legislature of 1849 declared. In 1856, twenty thousand dollars was voted for the relief of the free State men of Kansas. What was the crowning piece of two decades' spirited legislation and action for freedom was that of 1858, when the Legislature went on record that the State would consider every person who had been a slave elsewhere as free upon entering Vermont. "When the government of the judiciary of the United States refuses to protect citizens when in another State or territory, it becomes the duty of the States to protect their own citizens at whatever hazard or cost." In the election of 1860 Vermont gave a tremendous majority to Lincoln.

Vermonters did more than talk and legislate against slavery, and that they were living up to their bold and hardly legal sentiments and declarations was known and respected. Under the national laws, slave hunting became a favorite sport, and men ranged the Northern States seeking and seizing fugitive slaves. It is noteworthy that they left Vermont severely alone; they came very secretly, if at all, and made no attempts to take escaped slaves, although it was well known that there were some living within the State and that more were being passed from hand to hand on their hidden way to Canada. Railroads had not worn off their novelty in the pre-Civil War days, but an even stranger road than that traveled by the "iron horse" was another which, without tracks or cars, carried many a dark-skinned fugitive across the State and beyond its northern boundary. This "Underground Railroad" had but few stations, and the whereabouts of these were not advertised. One was at Ferrisburg, at the home of Rowland E. Robinson, a house which is probably standing today, and, if so, inhabited by members of the same family. It has a "secret stairway, narrow and dark, up which many a fugitive slave noiselessly glided to the chamber above, which was partitioned off from the rest of the house and was to the children of the family an unexplored mystery. At times the children knew that plates of food were being carried to the chamber above, but they well understood that they were to ask no questions and never to speak of their mysterious guests."

The Price of Freedom—War settled the slavery question as it did some others. Vermont was ready to back her words with deeds; she was prepared to show that there was more to her sentiment than resolutions against slavery at a safe distance. No State was more

prompt in sending troops, few more liberal in their financial provisions for the costs of war both at home and for the nation; the resources of the State in men and materials were placed at the call of the President. "Vermont alone of all the free States," says Benedict, "sent ten men to the war out of every hundred of its population and out of a total enrollment of thirty-seven thousand men liable to military duty, stood credited at the last with nearly thirty-four thousand volunteers." No Vermont regiment lost its colors in battle; the soldiers of no other Northern State took so many flags in proportion. No other Northern State had anything like so high a percentage of killed and wounded.

Oddly enough, for a State so distant from the arena of battle, Vermont sustained a rebel invasion. While troops from the State were riding with Sheridan at Cedar Creek, Virginia, October 19, 1864, Confederates and their sympathizers crossed over from Canada and attacked St. Albans and captured the contents of a bank! They tell a tale of the first regiment to be mustered into service in Vermont, which is suggestive in an allegorical way of the attitude of the army towards Vermont soldiers. John W. Phelps, as colonel, took command of the ten companies assembled at Rutland on May 2 of the first year of the war. He had served with distinction in the Mexican War, was a very tall man and a natural leader. On the passage of the regiment to the front through New York it attracted a great deal of attention and admiration because of the stature and soldierly bearing of its members, "each of whom wore in his gray cap, as proudly as a knight his plume, the evergreen badge of his State." Each succeeding regiment bore this emblem to the arena of war, to be drenched in blood, to be seethed in the fire of battle, to wither in pestilential Southern prisons, but never to be dishonored.

"Who is that tall Vermont colonel?" one spectator asked another, pointing to the towering form of Colonel Phelps.

"That," answered another, "is old Ethan Allen resurrected!"

The founder of St. Johnsbury, Jonathan Arnold, brought with him from Rhode Island a negress who had been given the family as a slave prior to the abolition of slavery in that State. Dr. Arnold had given her her freedom, but she said she preferred to be a servant of the family throughout her life. She had her wish, and in a residence of fifty-three years in St. Johnsbury served three generations of the Arnold family. When she died in 1841 she was buried in the Arnold family lot, where in the same plot in "God's acre" is the first citizen of the town. Charles H. Horton, a man of fine sensibilities and gift of imagery, wrote a quarter of a century ago this tribute entitled:

THE PIONEER AND THE SLAVE

Side by side in a narrow lot,
In a quiet unfrequented spot,
Are two most unassuming graves,
The pioneer's—the faithful slave's.

One marble slab, white, cut with care,
And one of slate, dark, low, and bare
Save but one name—stand o'er these graves
The pioneer's—the faithful slave's.

And yet how well they symbolize
The master's and the servant's lives;
One, white, high-born, both free and brave,
One, dark, in bondage born, a slave.

Yet both did serve—both slaves were they,
And both a master did obey;
Each in their lives exemplified
The true slave spirit till they died.

But in his varied tasks great deeds
One saw; he served his nation's needs;
And to great principles was nerved,
And one knew only that she served.

Side by side in these quiet graves
Long buried lie these faithful slaves;
Both servants to eternal plans,
Yet one served God's, the other man's.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN VERMONT

Your committee have yet to learn where the essential attribute of every government—self-preservation—has been parted with by us, so that we cannot defend ourselves against corruption and ruin, by interdicting what is incompatible with public virtue and happiness and safety.—From Memorial presented to the Vermont Legislature in 1836.

The temperance question is still of vital interest while the discussion of the advantages of prohibition continues. A decade has gone on its way since the Volstead Act was passed and a prohibitory law is now the law of the nation. That the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified by the States is evidence of a majority which favors restrictions in the use of liquors. There is a very outspoken minority, however, who insist that prohibition does not prohibit, and who declare that we have the anomaly of a supposedly popular law being so feebly and perfunctorily enforced as to be more harmful than the evil it attempts to down. One wrote of the prohibitory law of Vermont: "It is a question whether the frequent and unnoticed violations of this law, and the many abortive prosecutions under it, have not made all laws less sacredly observed, and the crime of perjury appear to the ordinary mind a merely venial sin." That reads like the statement of some present-day orator, but it was written nearly a half-century ago. Vermont passed a prohibitory law in 1852, and the history or the endeavors to enforce this statute, and of the temperance movement which preceded the placing of the law upon the books, may throw some light on the conditions which prevail today, and, possibly, suggest something of the future course of events.

The Pioneers and Their Liquor—A century ago the question which agitated the citizens of Vermont was not prohibition, but temperance. In these modern times there are but few who, in theory at least, do not approve of temperance in the use of intoxicating liquors, but when Vermont was young there were but few who condemned drinking. The custom was almost universal. Everybody drank; often the minister did not disdain to take a glass, and many a good sermon had its inspiration in a glass of apple-jack or New England rum. There were no provisions for heating the early

churches and it was not thought wrong to take a flask of liquor to the meeting-house to be passed around for a nip between the first and second services. It was quite the custom to build a tavern, in the larger settlements, close to the church, so that all might repair there before and after religious worship. At home drink helped to make plain food more palatable, the baby had cider along with its milk. "A pint of rum with a pound of pork" was the rule for workmen. Grog was sent out to those who worked in the fields. At town meetings, at raising and bees, at June trainings, at every sort of celebration liquor flowed. In one Vermont pulpit it was announced one Sunday morning that the raising of a certain barn would be postponed because a barrel of rum had not arrived.

There seems to have been little difficulty in getting liquors when many other necessities of life were lacking. The early settlers brought apple cuttings with them, and seeds, so that apple orchards were usually the first permanent crop planted. It is doubtful whether these were set out with the idea of producing eating or cooking apples; it was cider that was wanted, and that potent distillation of cider, "apple-jack" or apple brandy as it was called in New England. When later the temperance movement swept through the State many orchards were chopped down, it being quite unrealized that apples had other uses than to crush for cider. The raw cleared lands were immensely productive of potatoes for the first few plantings. Potato whiskey was easily made, and in this condensed form was more readily preserved and transported than the raw tuber. The makers, and the folk of the regions surrounding a distillery, were the first and the best customers. The greater part of what was drunk was manufactured within the State, for the pioneers had but few rich among them. The cider mill quite outnumbered the schoolhouse in the early part of the nineteenth century. Apples were not wasted; if they were not grown in one district, they found ready sale in another. The farmer stowed in his cellar each fall ten barrels of cider and as much more as he could get or had room for. Distilleries were numerous, particularly just prior to the War of 1812. "There were ten distilleries in the town of Poultney, four in the town of Shelburne, thirty in Chittenden County, and approximately two hundred in the State of Vermont."

At the Tavern—This was a day when the roads were few and bad, when travel was slow and the traveler had much time in which to become hungry and thirsty. The traffic on the roads was large, for so many bulky articles had to be transported to and from the farming settlements. The tavern sign swung at frequent intervals

along the highways. They were needed, so perhaps was the cup that cheers which they doled out. Without these hostelries travel through New England would hardly have been possible. They were meeting places for convivial and business and political parties. One heard here the news of the country, market reports were repeated and sales were made over the tables. It is well known how large a place the tavern was in pre-Revolutionary discussions and preparations. The tavern keeper was a person of importance and dignity. Ensconced behind his boxed-in bar he not only dispensed foreign and domestic liquors, but gave out information of the guests' and the world's affairs, after he had carefully extracted this information from the mellowed visitors to his house. He was the confidant of many and the friend of all. His was a peculiarly high place in the community. It will be recalled that at least one Governor of the State was a tavern-keeper, Thomas Chittenden, and there may be others who held the highest office in the State who were in a like business or closely associated with it. The chief objection is that there were too many taverns. Inns might be found, in districts, every few miles. Between Shelburne and Burlington, a distance of six miles, there were, at one time, four taverns besides those in the two places. Too much time was spent in the roadhouse and too little upon the road.

It is said, of course, that these were harsh and rugged days, when men were men and hard liquor was soft drink. Folk did live out of doors and worked hard. No doubt they could absorb alcohol and minimize its evil effects with vigorous activities. The claim is made that the strong waters were exceedingly pure, and that excessive drinking was confined to special celebrations and the like. Quite certainly a tipple of grog helped one forget some of the hardships of life, and they were many when our forefathers were subduing a forested wilderness in which to establish a home and State. It is to be feared, however, that the host of evils which seems to follow in the train of drunken habits, did not pass the Vermonters by. It was, we must admit, a day of vigorous physical activity, but of rather low moral standards in some ways. Heavy drinking of the strong liquors, to put it mildly, is acknowledged to be economically unprofitable. "Many a goodly farm, that had been uncovered of the forest by years of labor, floated out of its owner's hands in the continual dribble of New England rum and cider-brandy."

The Beginnings of Reform—The second war with Great Britain by checking the importation of liquors increased the home distilling, and its end found a surplus of distilleries turning out whiskey and

rum at such a rate that it was impossible to find a profitable market. Quantities were sold for anything it would bring, the price of whiskey dropping from one dollar and a half to thirty-three cents a gallon. Peace was celebrated with a nation-wide carouse. It was the straw which broke the camel's back. Reform became a subject of animated conversation and of mild intention. There had been a few who had all along frowned upon so great a use of liquor and had spoken against it. They received the ridicule and opposition which is the lot of the crusader. A national temperance society was formed at Saratoga in 1808, but made little or no progress. The Vermont Legislature, in 1817, considered the intemperance situation so serious that a "committee was appointed to investigate the excessive use of ardent spirits," headed by Governor Galusha, Lieutenant-Governor Brigham, Speaker Griswold and some of the State's most eminent men. The report of the committee occupied several newspaper columns. The evils of intemperance were set forth at length and the statement made that the annual cost of distilled liquors consumed in the State could not be less than one million dollars.

The Temperance Movement—The American Temperance Society was organized at Boston in 1826, but did not follow the fate of its predecessor. The time was at hand when moral sentiment and purpose was up in arms and forming its battalions. Before the close of 1829 there were more than a thousand temperance societies in the United States. The movement was still a movement of individuals rather than organized bodies; moral suasion was the force most used, and the object was not the prohibiting of the making and sale of intoxicating liquors, but the temperate use of alcoholic drinks. The advocates of even these mild principles suffered unpopularity and persecution. A Quaker miller refused to grind grain for a neighboring distillery, the owners of which brought suit to force him. The Quaker lost the suit, but persisted in his refusal. It was the distillery which eventually was abandoned. Some quietly neglected the custom of offering strong waters to the ever-present guest; others failed to furnish liquors at a raising or celebration. They were not popular. Some refused to plant potatoes, and chopped down their apple orchards as feeling began to mount. These zealots failed to realize that there were other uses for the over-crop of potatoes and that apples were good for something besides cider. Among the innumerable stories of this period is one about Abram Stearns, of Woodstock, who, in 1829, was a part owner of a distillery. Word came to him late one November night that

the distillery was afire, but he went back to bed with a feeling of relief, so he said, for he never had liked the business. Judge Henry C. Denison, hearing the alarm, started for the fire, but turned back when he found what it was that was burning. The distillery was never rebuilt. The temperance movement was becoming effective through the change it wrought in sentiment and in the examples of honest believers. Mr. Crockett is the authority for the statement, that the importation of liquors into America decreased from a value of five million dollars in 1824 to one million, one hundred thousand dollars in 1830.

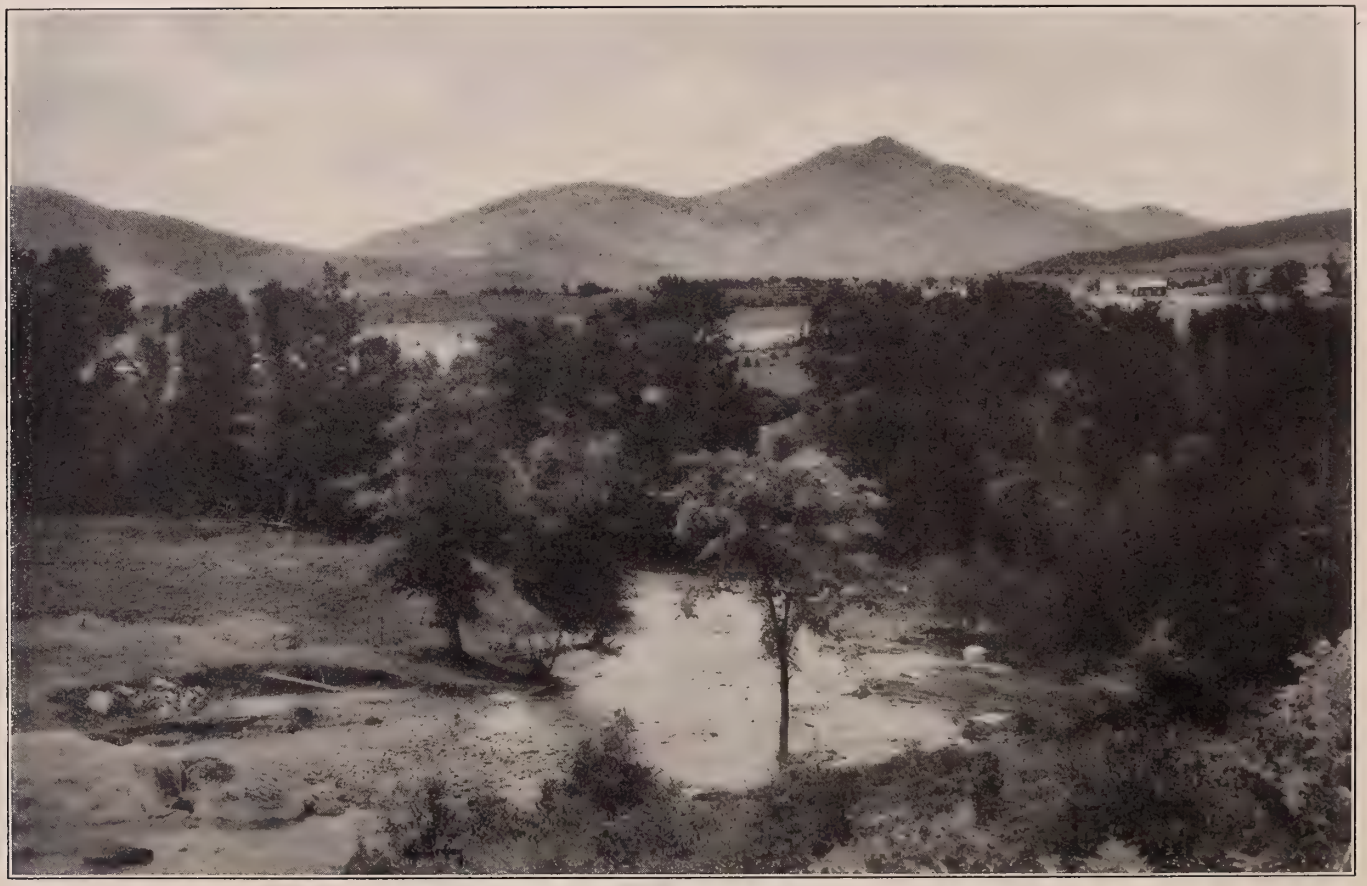
The Swing to Total Abstinence—Again let it be emphasized that the temperance movement was one which had no dreams of prohibition or but small ones of total abstinence. It was an attempt to encourage moderation in drinking and the substitution of beer and ale for ardent spirits. The members of the American Temperance Society built a brewery near Boston to show their attitude on the liquor question. Perhaps too soon the total abstinence idea came to the fore, and the attempt to stop the sale of all liquor by laws. Many temperance reformers felt that the country was not ready for repressive legislation and fought the entry of the question into politics as vigorously as they strove to inculcate habits of moderation, or of abstinence. The American Temperance Union was formed in 1836 at Saratoga. In 1840 the Washington Band of Reformers was organized at Baltimore, Maryland. Vermonters became particularly enthusiastic about this latter mentioned society, which was probably the most powerful temperance agency of the century. It was one of these bands of reformers which began the publication of figures relating to the consumption of liquor in Washington County, which was so enlightening that total abstinence and State control of liquor-selling became one of the dominant topics of the day. A report showed that 16,000 gallons of ardent spirits had been sold in the seven stores of Montpelier, a village of less than 3,000 inhabitants, and that probably 40,000 gallons had been consumed (1830) in the county. This was about two gallons of liquor for every man, woman and child in Washington County, to which must be added unknown amounts of cider and home brew.

A native of Peacham, which had at one time forty-two distilleries making potato whiskey, made a notable contribution to the cause about this time when he preached in his pulpit in 1832 at Urbana, Illinois, the famous "ox sermon." He took his text from those verses in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, which commanded that when an ox persistently pushed with his horn and killed a man or a woman,

that the ox should be stoned and the owner put to death. He argued that ardent spirits were wont to produce misery, wretchedness and death, and further affirmed that as the ox was wont to push with his horn, and kill, so God would support his law in all its extent by holding the dispensers of liquor responsible for all consequences. Over two million copies of this sermon were distributed all over the land by the various temperance organizations. Nine years after this sermon was delivered Mr. Merrill returned to his native town, to become pastor of the Congregational church there.

Vermont Adopts Prohibition—In 1844 a law was enacted fixing a minimum fee for liquor licenses and appointing the county commissioners to issue them. In 1846 provision was made for a popular vote on license or no license. In 1850 the selectmen of the towns were authorized to empower agents to sell ardent spirits for chemical, medical or mechanical purposes, and also to license victualers to sell small beer and cider; the licenses of any who were found dispensing hard liquors to drink were to be taken away. The medical, etc., licenses were to be issued only in towns which had voted against drinking licenses. The vote on the licensing the sale of liquor, as expressed in the town meeting of 1850, was: For license, 12,606; against license, 19,910. Essex and Washington counties gave license majorities.

In 1846, Maine was the first of the States to adopt a general prohibitory law. It failed to effect the desired purpose, and was succeeded, in 1851, by another drafted by Neal Dow. It prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, provided for search and seizure, and allowed the confiscation of what was found and taken. The Vermont State Temperance Society met at St. Johnsbury, on January 21 and 22, 1852, and adopted resolutions declaring that the existing liquor laws were inadequate, endorsed the Neal Dow law, and appointed committees to draft a similar bill to be submitted to the Legislature. Enthusiastic support was given the action on the part of the society all through the State. The Legislature was smothered in petitions pleading for the passage of a bill patterned after the Maine law. "It is said that 38,000 names were signed to these petitions, of which 17,500 were those of legal voters." General Horatio Needham, of Bristol, on October 27, 1852, introduced the desired bill. A similar bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Bates, of Orleans County. Neal Dow addressed the Legislature on behalf of temperance legislation. On November 17, Senator Goodhue, of Windham County, reported a third bill, which three days later was passed by the Senate, only to have it meet opposition in



JAY PEAK, OVERLOOKING CANADIAN BORDER AT NORTH TROY

the House, but which eventually passed the lower branch by a vote of 91 to 90. That evening the House reconsidered its vote and asked for the return of the bill. This procedure had to have the concurrence of the Senate, which was refused. This was the last night of the session, and the bill was signed by Governor Fairbanks and became the law of the State, subject to public approval.

The bill had yet to go before the people in a referendum vote before being enforced, and the narrow measure in the House was almost repeated by the voters. The measure was adopted by a vote of 22,215 in favor to 21,045 against. Eight counties gave majorities for and six against, Windsor and Windham being the chief objectors and Rutland leading the approving counties. Most of the larger towns and villages favored the measure. The law prohibited the making, sale, or gift of intoxicants for beverage purposes. The exception provisions of the law of 1850 held. The penalties provided were light, ranging from a fine of ten dollars and costs for the first offense to twenty dollars and costs and three months' imprisonment for a third offense. This law was the climax of an exciting and vigorous period in the history of the temperance movement. Never had the forces behind the movement been so strong and all-conquering. In what had amounted to a little more than a single decade, sentiment had risen from a toleration of drinking to the acceptance by the people of a law forbidding even the manufacture of liquors.

The First Temperance Memorial—Governor Erastus Fairbanks in signing the prohibition act was true to his convictions, for back in 1836 a memorial was presented to the Vermont Legislature with fourteen signers, of which Mr. Fairbanks was one, urging the passage of a prohibitory law. This is believed to be the first memorial ever presented to a New England Legislature for prohibition, as it made its appearance a year before General James Appleton told the Maine Legislature that the Pine Tree State ought to have a prohibitory law. The report, however, was tabled by the Legislature to which it was addressed and is now in the possession of the Vermont Historical Society.

It is interesting to note that the same questions that have been agitating the American people ever since the passage of the Volstead Act, namely, personal liberty and the constitutionality of the law, are duly considered by this committee nearly a century ago, who present in their memorial strong arguments for the temperance cause. The document, which fills eight closely printed pages, is here given in full, with its stilted wording and somewhat unusual spelling:

LEGISLATURE OF VERMONT
In House of Representatives, Nov. 15, 1836.

The Select Committee of fourteen, consisting of one member from each county, to wit: Messrs. Fitch, Canfield, Burgess, Kellogg, Edson, Brewster, Sanford, Clough, Fairbanks, Eaton, Richmond of Derby, Howe of Lunenburg, Adams of Grand Isle, and Cady, to whom was referred the memorial of sundry inhabitants of Thetford, remonstrating against licensing the sale of ardent spirits, and sundry other memorials on the same subject, made the following report, which was ordered to be laid on the table, and five hundred copies printed.

A. L. MINER, Clerk.

REPORT

To the House of Representatives:

Your Committee to whom was referred sundry memorials, praying that the traffic and manufacture of ardent spirits may be interdicted by law, respectfully report:—That they have endeavored to give the subject assigned them for consideration, that deliberate and careful examination which its acknowledged importance, and the many and serious embarrassments with which it is attended, obviously required. And while they are not prepared to recommend to this Legislature the enactment of a prohibitory law, they would, nevertheless by no means contravert the position assumed by the memorialists, that the evil complained of is a proper and legitimate subject of legislative enactment.

The only reason why your Committee forbear urging an entire change in the license law, at the present time, is the want of an adequate persuasion that the public mind is prepared for so decided a measure. We would, however, by no means, be understood to affirm that the public mind is not thus prepared. The memorials, both from their number, and the respectability of the names attached to them, evince that on this subject an extensive and most happy change has been effected in the feelings and views of the community. But still, in view of the very serious evils of precipitate legislation, we deem it advisable to recommend a reference of the subject to a future legislature. And we do this with a strong hope, and indeed with a confident expectation, that the friends of this most important and desirable reform, will then furnish satisfactory evidence that the change is decidedly called for, and will be effectually sustained by public sentiment.

In support of the opinion which we have advanced that a prohibition of the traffic in spirituous liquors, except for medicinal and other legitimate purposes, is expedient and necessary, we beg leave to call your attention to some grave, and in our view, conclusive considerations. With regard to the guilt and evils of intemperance, there can be no controversy; and in any representation which can be made on the subject there is little danger of exaggeration. It is the most fruitful source of crime and wretchedness. There is no interest of man, regarded as an individual, or viewed in any of his relations, civil, social or religious, which is not warred upon and subverted by this vice. Who does not know that it is the parent of disease in multiplied forms, and that in the sad work of cutting short human life, neither war, pestilence nor famine, can sustain a comparison with the ravages of this fell destroyer? It not only occasions in its victims a temporary derangement of the mind, but to an extent equal to

all other causes, ensures a permanent subversion of reason; and one-half the tenants of hospitals for the insane, have become maniacs through intemperance. Who is a stranger to the mental and moral debasement which it produces? Who does not know how often it renders man a brute, and almost a fiend—how often it converts the domestic circle, the appropriate seat of joy and love, into a scene of discord and hate, subjecting the wife and children not only to poverty and want, to cold, hunger and rags; but to outrage and cruelty? Who is not aware how directly it leads to poverty, so that he would need no gift of prophecy to be able to foretell the beggary to which the man who is becoming enslaved by this vice, will by and by subject himself? It is to this cause that a vast preponderance of the pauperism which burdens the public, owes its existence. Who is ignorant of the preparation for every species of crime, from petty larceny up to acts of atrocious violence done to persons and life, which intemperance occasions by degrading the intellect, paralyzing the conscience, blunting the kinder feelings of the heart, and often firing the passions with a violent and unnatural excitement? Hence, in nearly or quite nine cases out of ten, the murders perpetrated through the country owe their commission to the use of ardent spirits; and other crimes spring from the same source in nearly the same proportion.

The question then presents itself—How can this vice and its consequent evils be effectually removed? Your committee believe that this desirable object can be secured only by an interdiction of the traffic, except for purposes before specified. It is a position which experience established beyond doubt or controversy, that the ordinary use and abuse of ardent spirits are inseparable. As long as the article is employed as a means of exhilaration or refreshment, so long appetite will be created, the cravings of which will be indulged in defiance of consequences, and to a wide extent, in spite of every effort at prevention, the drunkard's habits and vices and woes and ruin will continue to annoy and afflict the public. With just as much reason may we cherish the anticipation that any maximum of mathematical truth, or any principle of physical science will prove false, as that this position shall be found untrue. But as long as the article is offered for sale in our stores and taverns to the intemperate, the hope is visionary and idle, that it will not be bought and consumed, and produce its legitimate and melancholy effects. The allurements of opportunity and temptation will be too powerful for those who are already under the dominion of a depraved appetite; and others, especially the young, bent on pleasure, and reckless of consequences, or not awake to its ruinous tendency, will indulge themselves in drinking, until they have fastened upon themselves the bounds of an inexorable and a fatal habit. The traffic, then, must be done away with, or the vice of intemperance, with its sad train of evils, must be endured.

But who will suppose that the vending of spirituous liquors can be prevented without a legal prohibition? There are men in every community who are regardless of the means by which they acquire gain; and if this traffic can be made profitable, it will be prosecuted, in spite of its nefarious character. Others, too, who might be willing, and even rejoiced to relinquish it, will still continue it, from the apprehension that some of those around them, will in that cause acquire an advantage over them in their business, highly injurious in its results.

That the traffic is wrong, is a position capable of the most satisfactory and unquestionable proof. We are to a wide extent, to estimate our conduct of its tendencies. And certainly a traffic which is suited to foster and perpetuate and extend one of the greatest and most noxious of all the vices, which degrade, corrupt, afflict and ruin mankind, cannot but be marked with guilt. And every man who vends ardent spirits may rightfully be regarded as an accessory before the fact to all the evils which may be the result. But ought it to be a question with the Legislature of a community like ours whether they shall continue to give a legal character to sin? Ought it to be a question whether we shall still say to a numerous class of individuals through the State—if you are willing to pay for the privilege, we will authorize you to engage in an employment which cannot be carried on without iniquity, and which may justly be pronounced, as it regards the public, a species of political suicide?

Again, the sanction which the law gives this traffic, ought to be withdrawn, in view of its influence upon the sentiments and feelings of large numbers in the community. It renders ineffectual all appeals to the consciences and to the better feeling of very many of those engaged in this noxious commerce. They shield themselves from responsibility and blame, behind the license which they receive from legislative authority. To no purpose are they told that their business is wrong, while the statute-book pronounces it right. And the inference is not a remote nor an obscure one, that if vending be right, buying and consuming be wrong. Hence the license law operates in a manner most mischievous, affording a quietus to men's consciences with regard to the course which they are pursuing; when, if there were no law upon the subject, they would be more open to a conviction of their guilt, and more accessible to inducements to reform. Your committee, however, would by no means contemplate a repeal of the existing law without enacting a substitute. For while in one point of view, it sanctions and legalizes the traffic in ardent spirits, in another, it operates as a restraining statute. There is, we are persuaded, a less extensive sale of the article than if all laws on the subject were now done away. The law, carrying as it does, the seal of reprobation upon itself, by the monopoly which it creates, and by the explicit declaration which it makes, that the business is such as cannot safely be left open, like all useful employments, to the enterprise and competition of the whole community—is still one which cannot, without injury, be dispensed with. Such are the views and feelings of a considerable portion of the public, created in part we apprehend, by the existing law itself, that if it were repealed, the places at which intoxicating liquors are sold would be greatly multiplied; and prosecution at common law, followed by conviction and punishment, could not be expected for an act, to which the statute had so long granted not only toleration, but also a legal character. In New Orleans not long since, an analogous case existed. The city authorities had long been in the practice of licensing gaming-houses and had derived from it a large revenue. But they had become convinced that these establishments were public nuisances, and that the money received was a poor remuneration to the community for the injury it sustained. What in this case did they deem it necessary to do? Did they merely decline issuing licenses, and a compensation for them, leaving every man who chose, at liberty to open a gaming house? On the contrary, they enacted a decided prohibitory statute, enforced by severe penalties, heavy fines, and protracted imprisonment in the penitentiary.

Your committee will close their discussion of the subject, by noticing two or three difficulties, with which they believe some minds are perplexed.

It has been made a question by some, whether the Legislature has a constitutional right to enact on this subject, a prohibitory law. But if we have not this right, the provision of our national or state constitution can be pointed out, in which that right has been surrendered. But your committee has yet to learn where the essential attribute of every government—self-preservation—has been parted with by us, so that we cannot defend ourselves against corruption and ruin, by interdicting what is incompatible with public virtue and happiness and safety.

But we remark further, that unless our present laws on this subject are a tissue of usurpation, and all unconstitutional and null, we have beyond controversy, the right of entire interdiction. For if we have authority to say that no man shall sell spirituous liquors unless he pays five dollars for a license, we may say that no one shall do it unless he pays five hundred dollars; and if five hundred, then we may say five thousand. We may thus prohibit indirectly, by fixing the price of a license so high that it will be for no man's interest and within the scope of no man's means, to pay it. But it is one of the plainest and best settled principles of law and ethics and common sense, that what a man may not do directly he may not do indirectly. And where no constitutional provision is involved, the doctrine which holds true of an individual is true of a legislative body. If then, the whole system of licenses in this State and in all the states of this country, be not constitutional and a down-right usurpation—and the validity of the system, has never, that we are aware of, been called to question—we may prohibit directly by making it penal to sell; or by fixing the fee for a license so high that no man either will or can buy.

There are some, however, who appear to labor under the misapprehension, that a prohibitory law would be an encroachment on the rights of the community, and chargeable with injustice and oppression. But no individual has rights at war with the public safety and welfare. It is a principle of law well settled, and everywhere recognized, that no man is at liberty to use even his own property in such manner as to essentially injure others, or to become a public nuisance. On the ground that the public good is to limit the rights, and to regulate and control the conduct of the members of society, our entire system of jurisprudence proceeds. A man may, to be sure, do whatever he pleases, so long as he does not injure other individuals or the public. But when he passes this limit, his rights cease. Now, then, if vending ardent spirits is noxious to his fellowmen, and at war with the vital interests of the public, no man has a right to embark in the business. Why has not a man as perfect a right to convert his tenement into a gaming house, or his farm into a race-course, as to open a grog shop, or a store for the sale of ardent spirits? Your committee are utterly unable to discover what there is so peculiarly sacred and inviolable in this traffic, that it ought to be exempted from the lot of other vicious and baneful practices, on which the law does not hesitate to lay its hand.

In proof that the measure proposed is no impracticable and visionary project, the committee beg leave to refer you to what has actually been done in that part of Massachusetts, denominated the Old Colony, containing a population of 120,000 people, where the traffic, in all its forms, has been effectually stopped, not indeed by the action of the legislature, but by the county com-

missioners, with whom the power of granting or withholding licenses is entrusted. The results of the measure have been in every view, auspicious. This is evidenced by the increased, and more decided approbation of the community, shown by their election by augmented majorities of commissioners known to be in favor of this course; and by the calenders of their courts of civil and criminal justice—cases of the latter kind having become all but extinct. And if a regulation of this character can be carried into office there, we see no reason why a statute embracing the same principles, could not be carried into effect here, characterized as this state has always been by a deference for law and a general spirit of subordination to its prescriptions.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

LYMAN FITCH, for Committee.

Putting Teeth Into the Law—There was somewhat of a reaction and a tendency to a complacent resting upon the oars, after a prohibitory law had been placed upon the books of the State. Why bother about preparing the people to live up to the law, or to be troubled over the administration of the measure? It was a period of reforms and ills to be righted. The slavery question was taking the front of the stage. It will be recalled that the law to abolish imprisonment for debt seems somehow to have been brought about in connection with the temperance activities. Steps were instituted about this time which led to the better care of the dependent and defective classes, of better treatment of animals. Strange doctrines were preached; visionary societies were formed, ranging from the high-minded efforts of the community at Brook Farm to the advocates of free love. There were attempts to reform the dress of women by other means than a style committee in Paris; the remarkable bloomer costume was one of the results. These middle decades of the last century were busy ones for the reformers, and they were quite excusable if in the conception of later reforms they forget to bring up properly some of the baby ones they had begot.

It is the history of the prohibitory law of Vermont, that as long as it remained in force there was a continued effort to give it a set of teeth which could bite. Each succeeding assembly had to legislate to increase the stringency and efficiency of the prohibitory statutes. The law was the law of Vermont for half a century. For much of that time it had the support of the people, and was as popular as such a law could be, but it did not prohibit. Despite the betterment in the ideas and education of the people by years of fairly complete control of the liquor situation, there came a time when it was felt better to give the voters of any section the privilege of licensing the use of alcoholic drinks.

At first, the interpretations of the prohibitory law bordered upon

laxity. Modifications were suggested which would be less stringent. Liquor was permitted in private dwellings and might be "given away" until the house became a public resort. Cider could be made, sold and used. In 1854 the severe penalties of the law were extended to anyone owning and keeping liquor with the evident intention to sell. In 1855, further restrictive legislation was passed; in 1856, penalties were provided for railway, stage and express agents who transported liquor intended for sale. In 1858 the use of strong drink at "raisings" was strictly forbidden; other changes were under consideration when the Civil War thrust prohibition, with many other public questions, into the background.

A Trial of Local Option—By 1880 there were signs that the tide was turning against restrictive liquor laws, though both the Senate and the House voted in favor of a prohibitory amendment in 1881, but in 1882 the House failed to agree with the Senate on this question. Six years later the Governor suggested that the penalties attached to the law should be increased in severity, but no attention was paid by the Legislature to his suggestion. Governor Levi K. Fuller, in 1893, conducted an investigation into the manner in which the prohibitory law was being enforced. The evidence showed that apparently half the towns obeyed the law; a third would not commit themselves; the remainder frankly admitting that liquor was being sold illegally. The town liquor agencies did a land-office business far in excess of the needs of the citizens for intoxicants for medicinal purposes only. The Spanish war gave the people something else to think about; but in 1902 came the fight for local option that resulted in the local option law. This is not a political history, but 1902 in Vermont is fresh in the minds of many citizens. J. G. McCullough, of Bennington, was the regular Republican nominee for Governor, on a platform which had as one of its resolutions that the incoming Legislature "make provision for ascertaining the will of the people by a direct vote upon the acceptance or rejection of a license and local option law regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors and further providing that upon popular vote in favor of such a law, duly ascertained, the same shall be and become a statute law of the state in force." Percival W. Clement, of Rutland, was nominated after the Republican convention, on a platform of high license and local option, having stumped the State for six weeks previous to the convention. It was one of the most exciting and colorful campaigns in the history of the State. His whirlwind tour of the State in his private railroad car; his nightly appearance on the platform with a colored quartette, and, finally, the importation of Rev. Sam

Small, the Southern revivalist, to champion high license were some of the features of what Horace Ward Bailey called in one of his newspaper letters the "exsentrisities of his campane." The story of the campaign in all its interesting details is related in a rather uncommon little book, entitled "Nineteen-Two in Vermont," written by Mason S. Greene, of the "Rutland Herald." The Governor vote shows the large following Mr. Clement had:

J. G. McCullough, Republican	31,864
P. W. Clement, high license	28,201
F. W. McGettrick, Democrat	7,364
J. C. Sherburne, Prohibition	2,498

The result threw the vote into the next Legislature, where Mr. Clement was a poor second, as the vote indicates:

McCullough	164
Clement	59
McGettrick	45

The following February the people decreed on a referendum vote for local option on the question of liquor licenses and Mr. Clement had won his fight against prohibition. The law provided for seven classes of licenses, at costs ranging from $10 to $1,200. The result of the referendum was even closer than the Gubernatorial votes in the State and in the Legislature. There were 29,711 who voted for licensing, with a negative vote of 28,982, the majority for license being 729. Five towns failed to return their vote in time to be included in the first summary, but their vote did not change the result, except to add over 300 votes to the license column. It was noted in the result that the eastern part of the State strongly opposed the change, but was out-voted by the more populous central and west sections. In the March elections of 1903 ninety-four towns voted to license the sale of intoxicants, although all did not issue licenses. In the spring elections of 1904 only forty towns voted to license. In 1906 the number so voting was reduced to twenty-nine; in 1907 the number was twenty-seven; eighteen towns and cities, in 1917, voted to license the sale of liquor; and in 1918 there were only ten so voting. Eight counties were in the no-license column when the National Government adopted as a war measure country-wide prohibition. The steady turning again to prohibition of the towns of the State under the freedom of choice under local option clearly indicated the sentiment in Vermont on the liquor question.

Volsteadism—Vermont has gone the rounds of the temperance question. The pride of the early days in the ability to drink largely has changed to a pride in being able to leave drink alone. Over a period of a half-century every conceivable scheme was used to prevent drunkenness with the law, only to arrive at a place where it seemed advisable to leave the question of prohibition up to the civil divisions of the State rather than to the State itself. A decade and a half of this practice had been marked by an increasing tendency of the towns to close down on the liquor traffic. It apparently was probable that by the way of local option Vermont would once again come to State prohibition. The matter was put up to her in a somewhat different form in 1918, when the question before the country at large was whether the States should ratify a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. One of the first acts of the Legislature of 1919 was to forward to Washington on January 16 a joint resolution of ratification. On January 29, 1919, the announcement came from the Secretary of State at the National Capitol, that as thirty-six States had ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, prohibition had become the law of the land, going into effect on January 16 of the following year. Vermont, by the action of her Legislature, was one of these thirty-six States and had rounded out her career as a leader among the temperance States in the Union.

The Volstead Act, which was the basis of the Eighteenth Amendment, has many enemies and is a live subject in the political affairs of the Nation. A demand is made for a letting down of the bars so that the use of light wines and beer may be made permissible—temperance, in other words, instead of forced abstinence. Vermont is placed in a very unpleasant situation in being on one of the favorite routes of the smuggler and bootlegger from Canada to the towns and cities of New England. It must not only see to the enforcement of the law among its own population, but assist in the restraint of inter-State traffic in forbidden intoxicants. Vermont, like her sister States, has enough on its hands to check the importation, the manufacture and the use of liquors at home. Proximity to the source of supply does not help any, and in the enforcement of the law keeps a large force of Federal agents exceedingly watchful and busy.

As the matter stands, at the present, it is a question whether the United States must travel again the same route over which Vermont progressed before arriving at a similar result. Must there be years of the same disregard of law which marked the early period of prohibition in the State? Will there have to be continuous tampering with the law to "put teeth into it?" Shall we come to a time when

the reactionary forces will have their way and local option become the rule of the Nation? Only to find out that it was prohibition that was wanted after all? It took Vermont three-quarters of a century to find out what it wanted; it is to be hoped that it does not take the United States quite so long.





CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, MIDDLEBURY

CHAPTER IX

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE STATE

The kingdom coming is a coming strong;
Brother, don't you worry.
It's coming with work and prayer and song;
Brother, don't you worry.

Oh, man is weak and man is slow;
Christian, don't you worry.
There's a God above and a God below;
Christian, don't you worry.

STEPHEN G. BARNES.

The Christian religion was brought to Vermont by the French Jesuits and Recollects possibly before the Pilgrim Fathers had landed at Plymouth. Tradition has it that a Catholic priest visited, before 1620, the Indians in camp on the Missisquoi River near the present Swanton and preached the Christ to them. This rumor has never been authenticated, but it is a matter of record that one Captain de la Mothe came, in 1665, to Isle la Motte to built a fort; that by the next year a chapel had been built, the first religious edifice within the State of today. Scurvy attacked the garrison, killing a number, and Father Dollier de Casson arrived in 1667 to bury thirteen of the dead and to say mass. Later in this year three other priests came to the fort, and one of them, Father Pierron, wrote a letter home, which was probably the first letter ever written in Vermont. Bishop Laval, of Quebec, also visited Fort Ste. Anne (1668), and was therefore the first Bishop to enter what is now the United States. In later years Frenchmen and Catholic missionaries went to various places along Lake Champlain to trade or preach; seigniories were granted in the region and sometimes settled, so that from first to last the Catholic rites were celebrated in Vermont for nearly a century. The French régime came to an end in 1760, and with it the French encampments in Vermont. Though not a large factor in the development of the religious life of the State, they are exceedingly interesting because of their antiquity; because they were "firsts," and because they show the first segment of the circle of the history of the

Catholic church in Vermont. There was an almost complete break in the circle from 1760 to 1830, before Catholic missionaries again arrived on the scene and began building once more what is now one of the leading denominations in the State.

Early Protestants—Rev. John Williams was undoubtedly the first Protestant minister to hold services in Vermont, and the pitiful and heart-rending story of his forced march up the Connecticut Valley with such portion of his flock as had escaped from the sacking of Deerfield, Massachusetts, February 29, 1703-4, is related in an earlier chapter. Also the text of his sermon from Lamentations 1:18, "The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled against His commandment: Hear, I pray you, all people, and behold my sorrow: My virgins and my young men are gone into captivity." "The enemy, who said to us, sing us one of Zion's songs, were ready, some of them, to upbraid us, because our singing was not so loud as theirs. When the Macquas and Indians were chief in power, we had this revival in our bondage; to join together in the worship of God, and encourage one another to a patient bearing the indignation of the Lord, till He should plead our cause." Such were the pathetic circumstances of the first religious service held by a Protestant in Vermont.

Fort Dummer, within the south limits of the present town of Brattleboro, was built and manned in 1724, the first permanent settlement in Vermont. One of the first requests of the commandant was for "a person of gravity, ability and prudence" to be the chaplain of the fort. Rev. Ebenezer Hindsdill received the appointment in 1730 and held his position for thirteen years. It is to be feared that his congregation was made up mainly of the Indians, although he was beloved by both the aborigines and the whites. Quite likely there were clergymen who spent more or less time in Vermont prior to the 1750's, when Governor Wentworth began granting townships, but there were few settlements of size until after England had taken over the government of Canada. The year 1760, which marked the temporary discontinuance of the Catholic church in Vermont, saw the rise of the Protestant denominations. Many of the "New Hampshire Grants" were made with provisions by which one right of land was reserved to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," one as a glebe for the Church of England, and a third for the first minister settled in the town. Here was chartered recognition of a dependence upon God; Church and State were linked together in a manner suggestive of the theocratic government under which the Puritans settled Massachusetts. Religion was taken seriously, one of the first acts of a



INTERIOR OF MEETING-HOUSE AT ROCKINGHAM, ONE OF THE OLDEST IN VERMONT

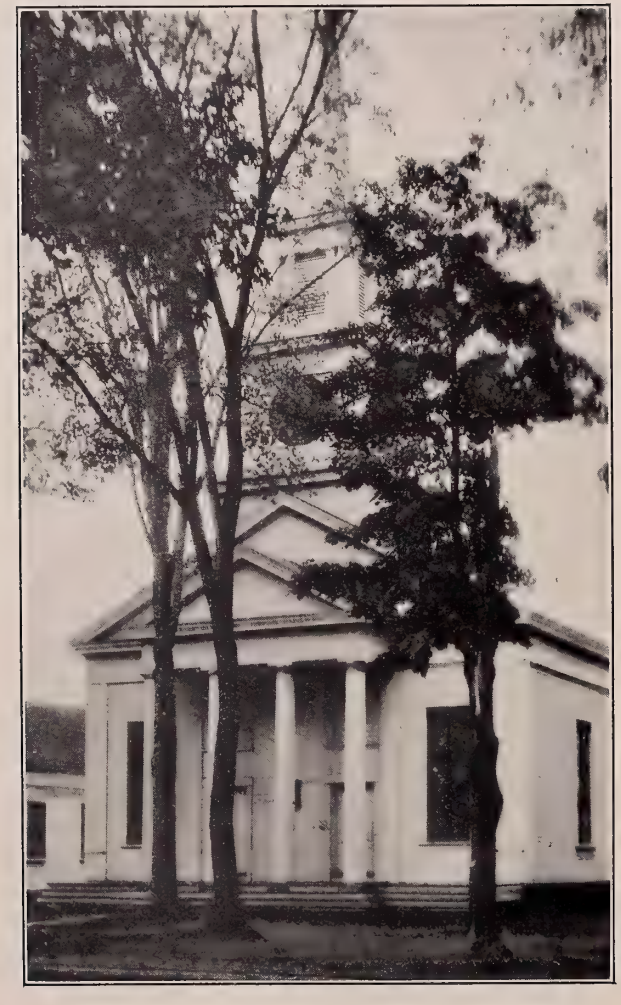
town being to plan for the building of a meeting-house and the calling of a minister.

The First Meeting-House—The larger share of the first settlers came from Connecticut and Massachusetts and were "Separatist" in polity. There had been dissensions in Congregationalism mainly between those who held to the old and rather formal faith, and those influenced by the evangelical spirit which had resulted from the preaching of Whitefield and other revivalists—the "Old Lights" and the "New Lights" as they were often called. The latter, or Separatists, were regarded as a "fanatical sect, whose organization was irregular and schismatic, and who were the subject of severe repressive legislation in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, which today seems little less than persecution." (Wild.) It is doubtful whether very many of the first settlers came to Vermont chiefly to find religious freedom, but it is true, nevertheless, that there were many of the "irregular sect" among the pioneers who fostered a Congregationalism which eventuated in making Vermont, in proportion to its population, the strongest Congregational State in the United States. It was the union of two "New Light" churches of Hardwick and Sunderland, Massachusetts, with the church of Bennington—the first organized Protestant church in Vermont—which made possible the erection of the premier meeting-house at Bennington Center, the first ecclesiastical edifice in the State built in connection with a permanent settlement. It is known that at a Freeman's meeting of February 26, 1762, it was voted to build a meeting-house; tradition says that it was completed in 1766. This first church was 50 by 40 feet and two stories in height. The upper story was used as a schoolhouse, but many a Freeman's gathering was held there, and some of the most stirring and important events in early history cluster around this old church. Here the residents of the town gathered after the capture of Ticonderoga to return thanks to God. The first pastor, Parson Dewey, preached a sermon before the battle of Bennington, and captured Hessians were held prisoners within its walls. The first murder trial ever held in Vermont took place abovestairs. In the same building the Legislature assembled for eight sessions in twelve years; at one, in 1791, it was voted to take steps looking to admission of Vermont into the Union. A few years after this the meeting-house was torn down, not to be replaced until 1805. The membership of the first organization included 32 females and 25 males, a proportion between sexes which still holds, no doubt.

It seems odd that the first meeting-house should have been built in the western section of the State, when it was the eastern part

which was the earliest settled. There was, however, only one other church organized on the west slopes of the mountains for many years, the West Rutland meeting-house of 1773, but churches became numerous from this time. Up the Connecticut Valley a church was founded at Newbury, in 1764; then followed, Westminster, Windsor, Guilford, Brattleboro, Norwich, Hartford, and Thetford. By 1780 there were nineteen Congregational churches on the eastern side of the State and two on the west. The increase from then on was very rapid.

Rise of the Baptist Church—The Baptists were the only denomination besides the Congregational that "settled" their ministers, which was quite an encouragement to those of that denomination to pioneer the New Hampshire Grants so as to receive the benefit of the lots which became the property of the first-settled minister in a town. It was quite customary for non-Congregationalists to inquire before deciding upon a town in which to make their home, where there were the greatest number of their particular denomination. It meant a great deal to be where there were others of like faith, and it helped to have land provided without cost for a minister of that faith. The first Baptist church in Vermont was organized at Shaftsbury in August, 1768. Pownal was another Baptist town, and had a church as early as 1772. A church was organized at Wallingford on February 10, 1780, which is the oldest of the denomination in Vermont now extant. During that same year a second church was formed at Shaftsbury, a third in 1782 and a fourth in 1783; later these all combined. The first church in the eastern part was founded at Guilford, in 1780, with a second in 1781, a third in 1782, and a fourth in 1797. Other Baptist organizations in this section established before 1800 were: The West Dummerston, and Westminster West, 1782; Brookline and Windsor, 1785; and Halifax, 1793. The First Church, Manchester, was organized in 1786, and became the mother of four other churches in the region. The Shaftsbury Baptist Association was formed in 1780 with two Vermont churches. The Vermont Association was organized at Manchester, May, 1785, with four pastors meeting together with delegates from three State churches. The Windham Association dates from 1793, being known as the Leyden Association; there were ten societies represented. The Woodstock Association was established in 1783, and in 1791 was made up of thirty-one churches. The rise of the Baptist church was very rapid in the closing years of the eighteenth century, ranking a very close second to the Congregationalists in numbers of bodies, members and pastors.



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, NEWBURY



UNION CHURCH, RICHMOND, ERECTED 1813

Beginnings of the Episcopal Church—It will be recalled that a land right was set off in most towns granted as a glebe for an Episcopal clergyman, or, to put it more accurately, for the benefit of the Church of England. Those of this faith were not very popular in New England, as the country was gradually working itself up to a fury against the mother country which was to break out in rebellion. The Church of England adherents had always been more or less persecuted by the Puritans, who punished them for non-attendance upon Puritan worship and for using the Prayer Book in their own services. Beliefs are seldom changed by opposition, but it is quite natural to avoid trouble. It may have been to escape the unpleasant conditions which prevailed, or to take advantage of the glebe rights (which was seldom done), or, and this is more likely, just to make a home where they pleased. At any rate, quite a number of staunch churchmen settled in Vermont upon Wentworth grants, and retained in the semi-wilderness their faith and practices. Some came to Arlington in 1764; others at an early date settled at Tinmouth, Manchester, Dorset, Rupert, Sandgate, Sutherland, Bennington, Pawlet, Wells, Castleton and Rutland. Before 1790 there were other groups in Bethel, Shelburne, Vergennes and Alburg, to the north, and in Stafford, Hartland, Norwich, Thetford, Springfield and Weathersfield, in the east. "Some twenty groups of these people existed within the borders of the future State prior to 1790. Not one of these groups was as yet an organized parish in the strict sense of the term. Only two church buildings had been erected. Such gatherings as were held were mostly in private homes, and laymen read the services from the Prayer Book. Such were the conditions of the Episcopal church in Vermont when the first Convention of the Church in Vermont was held in Arlington on September 20, 1790. Two clergymen and eighteen lay delegates were present." (George Y. Bliss, D.D.)

Other Early Denominations—There was preaching by Methodist missionaries and revivalists in Vermont as early as 1788, and Arlington, Castleton, Clarendon, Danby, Fair Haven, Pownal, Wells and Whitingham were included in a Methodist circuit prior to 1800. In the eastern part of the State, Methodism was introduced by the Rev. Nicholas Snethen in 1796, at Vershire; he also preached at Bradford the following year. Among other pioneer congregations in Vermont were those of the Quakers who settled in Rutland and Addison counties and in the southern part of Chittenden. In like manner some genuine Scotch Presbyterians had located at Ryegate and Barnet just before the Revolution but had no minister until 1791. Universalism had been preached in Vermont as early

as 1777 though as a distinct sect it only dates from 1770, the first church being organized in 1774. The doctrines of this denomination seem to have divided the members of other churches in many towns. The first and for some time the only regularly formed church was that at Barnard, founded in 1794. The great preacher of this faith was Hosea Ballou who came to Vermont in 1800, having accepted the invitation of the churches of Hartland, Bethel and Barnard to preach for them. He remained six years, not only doing his parish work, but in addition performing vast missionary labors in various parts of the State. The controversies in religious circles may be inferred by the title of two of his printed sermons: "A Candid Review of a Pamphlet Entitles a Candid Reply. The whole being a Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist." "An Epistle to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, containing a brief reply to his sermon at West Rutland, June, 1805, designed to refute the Doctrine of Universal Salvation."

There were other faiths, no doubt, which had adherents among the Vermonters during this pioneering period, but few societies. The Revolution did not aid religion, whatever the aftermath of that event may have been. As matters stood, in 1791, there were forty-six Congregational churches, thirty-five Baptists, eight Episcopalian, a Quaker Society or two, most certainly less than one hundred churches in the whole State and probably not more than two-thirds of these were regularly organized bodies. There were three Baptist associations, three Congregational ministers' associations, and the Diocese of Vermont had just been established by the Episcopalians at Arlington.

Less than one hundred churches may seem a large, or a small, number to be scattered among a population exceeding 85,000. It must be remembered that this (1791) was the closing year of a period between the end of the Revolution and the entrance upon statehood, a period when the settlement of Vermont had just begun on a large scale. A most remarkable growth was to feature the next two decades. The pioneers were poor; they had difficulty in maintaining themselves and to build a roof for their own heads. To erect a church, to settle and support a pastor, these were really tremendous undertakings, but barn-like meeting-houses were put up and ministers were called and cared for. The folk from forest, farm and hamlet came to the Sabbath day services, paid their tithes, worshipped as they thought fitting and made religion a very definite and intimate part of their lives. The early town histories are replete with indications of the high place in the community taken



OLD SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, WINDSOR, ERECTED, 1798; REMODELED, 1844; RENOVATED, 1879; RESTORED, 1923

by the churches and their ministers. The very variety of denominations which early secured footing in the State is evidence of a wholesome regard for spiritual things, freedom of worship, independence of opinion, religious toleration and equality rather beyond the times. It is rather surprising to find in "A declaration of the rights of the inhabitants of the State of Vermont" (1777), the framework of the Constitution of the Commonwealth, that the third article reads like this:

> III. That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship the Almighty God, according to the dictates of their consciences and understanding, regulated by the word of God; and that no man ought, or, of right, can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience; nor can any man who professes the Protestant religion be deprived or abridged of any civil right as citizen, on account of his religious sentiment, or peculiar mode of religious worship, and that no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatsoever, that shall in any case, interfere with, or in any manner control, the rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship: nevertheless, every sect or denomination of people ought to observe the Sabbath, or Lord's day, and keep up, and support, some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God.

Church and State—Article three laid the foundations for freedom of faith in the new-born republic, but it will be noticed that there was no freedom granted to *not* worship in some manner, or to fail to become connected with some sort of church, or to neglect observation of the Sabbath. It is to be feared that the ideas of the fathers of the Declaration as regards liberty of conscience were somewhat contracted. The laws which were passed during this period were the best exemplification of what was the real spirit of the times, and, whatever may be said of them, these laws reflected a very thorough reverence of the Almighty and the recognition of his leadership and right to rule in civil affairs as in personal. The Windsor convention of 1777 issued a proclamation of "a day of fasting and prayer, that we may humble ourselves before God." Was not this the origin of the Fast Day which was observed until abolished by the Legislature of 1898? Every Representative in Conventions of that period had to be "Orthodox," believing in God, in both the Old and New Testaments as divinely inspired, and be a member of some Protestant religion. "No further or religious test should ever, thereafter, be required of civil officer or magistrate in this State." Religious tests were dropped from the Constitution in 1793 and freedom of religious opinion permitted.

The first General Assembly (1777) passed an act regarding the observance of the Sabbath, but the text is lost. In 1779 an act was passed prohibiting any labor, game, sport, play or recreation on Sunday or Fast or Thanksgiving Day with a penalty up to ten pounds. Keeping, or staying outside the meeting-house in which worship was going on was punishable by a fine of three pounds. If one disturbed the worship one was fined and whipped on the naked back. Other than religious gatherings were forbidden on Saturday and Sunday evenings; swearing was punished by a stay in the stocks. He who blasphemed "the name of God, the Father, Son or Holy Ghost, with direct, express presumption and high-handed blasphemy, should be put to death." The town constables, grand jurymen and the tything men were expected to see to the observance of the Sabbath laws, and were in duty bound "to restrain all persons from unnecessary walking in the streets or fields, swimming in the water, keeping open their shops in the evening preceding the Lord's Day, or on said day or evening following."

There never was any questioning of the right of each town to lay and collect taxes for the building of houses of worship and for the support of preaching; taxing for religious purposes was not done away with until well on into the succeeding century. Questions concerning the location, construction and repairing meeting-houses, the hiring of ministers, were the ordinary business of the town meeting and the choosing of a minister and bargaining with him as to his salary were usually the duties of the selectmen. All of which was rather hard on citizens who held religious opinions differing from the dominant party in the town. The Baptists, in particular, strongly disapproved of any interference in ecclesiastical affairs by the civil authorities.

By a law of 1783, persons "of different sentiments in religious duties" might be freed from taxes imposed for the support of a church differing from their own, *if* they could bring a certificate showing they were paying taxes for the support of a church of their faith, elsewhere, a thing often very hard to do. Further illustrations might be given of the close union of religion and state, of theoretical liberty of conscience and practical restraint of worship, of earnest, serious, hardheaded faith in the days when the State and the religions of the State were founded. They are of importance, not merely as pictures of the past, but as suggestions of the origins of Vermont religious life and character. An independent and vigorous people cleared the wilderness and established a State. "They feared God and little else." If mistakes were made they were soon recti-

fied. Vermont was on the verge of a great expansion in growth and life when she became one of the United States, and ideas and religion expanded accordingly.

A Period of Remarkable Growth—Practically all the larger denominations, except the Catholic, now found in Vermont had representatives within its bounds before the end of the eighteenth century. The last decade of that century and the first of the next were twenty years of most marvelous expansion and change. The population doubled during the first of these decades and increased 41.1 per cent in the second, the total in 1810 being 217,895. This has been called the "Golden Age" of the Commonwealth, a very fitting title, if that period in the life of a boy when he is outgrowing all his clothes can be called the golden age of man. Settlement had been carried out in most parts of the State and the churches had gone with the settlers; growth was not confined to the material things, but had spread to the religious life, and some of the evidences of this growth were no more charming than that of an overgrown boy with a changing voice. Too many churches were organized in a town; nine in a section with fewer than a thousand residents seems rather excessive. Denominational differences were somewhat over-emphasized, and too often the machinery of denominationalism was constructed for competitive purposes. Controversies within the church and with others were numerous. But what were all these but the natural features of immaturity?

Several of the newer denominations built their first churches during the period prior to the War of 1812; some greatly strengthened their organizations by the forming of associations and conventions. The first Methodist appointment was in 1796, at Vershire; a meeting-house was built, in 1795, at Danby; the first in the eastern part was, in 1801, at Barre. In 1801, the Methodists had four circuits and six preachers in the eastern, and three circuits and five preachers in the western sections of the State. The number of members, at that time, was 1,044. Ten years later there were fourteen appointments and twenty-three preachers, with 1,900 members. The changes in this denomination during the next decade consisted chiefly of a quadrupling of membership. By 1830, there were thirty-five appointments and a membership of more than 10,000. The Congregationalists had ninety-four churches in 1800; by 1818 there were one hundred and sixty-seven; by 1830 the totals were two hundred and three churches and 17,236 members. The Baptists had almost as many churches but fewer adherents. The Episcopal Church did not begin building edifices until the new century. In 1821 there

were sixteen organized parishes under Bishop Viets Griswold, of New York. At the convention held in Rutland, 1833, thirteen clergymen reported twenty-five parishes, sixteen church buildings, twelve rectories and about 1,100 communicants. Organized Unitarianism in Vermont dates from 1810 in Burlington, where divided sentiment in a Congregational body led to the erection of two churches by 1816, of which one was Unitarian. The Universalists organized their first church at Barnard in 1794, and had enough other societies in the State to start forming an association, in 1804, the "Northern," others being created in later years until there were five. Other denominations which never loomed large in the religious life of Vermont might be mentioned as becoming established more than a century ago, such as the Christian church, organized at Lyndon in 1801.

Early History of the Catholic Church—After more than half a century without a parish in Vermont, the first resident Catholic priest arrived in Vermont in 1830, and the first church of the denomination was built in Burlington the following year. Father O'Callaghan, for such was the name of the priest, remained in Vermont until 1854 and exerted a profound and lasting influence upon the growth of Catholicism in the State. The Burlington church was burned in 1838, and the parish worshipped in the basement of the Old Court House until another edifice was dedicated in 1841. Rev. John B. Daley was meanwhile acting as missionary in the southern part of the State, the first fruits of his labors being a chapel at Middlebury (1838), which was until recent years the oldest Catholic church in Vermont still in use. The old St. Mary's Church, Burlington, second only to St. Peter's, was dedicated in 1838 by Bishop Fenwick, who visited the Vermont parishes in 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1838. Bishop Fitzpatrick, successor to Bishop Fenwick, visited the State in 1844 and 1848, administering confirmation in Montpelier, Vergennes, Burlington, St. Albans, Swanton, Middlebury and Fairfield, these probably being all the groups of Catholics organized at that time. In addition to the two churches in Burlington and one at Middlebury, prior to 1850 there were edifices at St. Albans, Immaculate Conception, built 1849, and possibly another in one other town.

The Founding of State Organizations—The natural concomitant of the rapid increase in the number of Protestant denominations and churches was the forming of State bodies for the better oversight of the work of each sect. The Congregational ministers' confer-



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DES VICTOIRES, ST. JOHNSBURY

ences and the Baptist associations have been mentioned. These were not broad enough in scope and lacked authority. Both the Baptist and Congregational polity is one of independence of individual churches, with rather loose and unauthoritative connections with other bodies of similar faith. A State organization of the Congregationalists was effected August 27, 1795, in the study of John Wheelock, president of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. For years this was little more than an annual gathering of a few ministers. In 1841, laymen were admitted, under restrictions, and the name chosen of "Convention of Ministers and Churches." This body was incorporated in 1872; "but not until 1892 did it become democratically representative, and is now, under the name 'Conference,' composed of a pastor and delegate from each church, together with the permanent officers and members of committees and boards. The county organizations consist of Associations or unions of ministers; and Conferences, now called Associations, of churches." There are fifteen of the latter at the present time, meeting annually.

There were seven Baptist associations in Vermont before the end of the eighteenth century. These formed the Baptist State Convention, on October 26, 1824, at Brandon. Its first president was Rev. Ezra Butler, of Waterbury, later Governor of Vermont. This organization seems to have been for missionary purposes, mainly, the first step being to constitute it as an auxiliary to the general Foreign Mission Society of the denomination, and the second to devote its efforts to State missions and assisting feeble churches. Later, aid was given to students for the ministry. In 1832, the State Convention sent Nathan Brown as missionary to Burmah, paying his expenses there and agreeing to support him while at his station. State missionaries were employed as funds were raised; William Arthur, father of Chester A. Arthur, the first of the two Vermont Presidents of the United States, was one of these missionaries. Since 1886, there has been a State Missionary whose duties are more in the nature of oversight than of the forming of new congregations.

The first Convention of the Episcopal Church in Vermont was held at Arlington, September 20, 1790, and there has been such a convention held every year since that time. The church in Vermont was without Episcopal supervision until a bishop was ordained, which occurred after several unsuccessful attempts, May 29, 1811. A union of the future dioceses of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, under the title "Eastern Diocese," was brought about, and Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold was

consecrated as bishop. On May 30 and 31, 1832, the Vermont churches separated from the larger body, becoming the Diocese of Vermont, with the Rev. John Henry Hopkins elected as its bishop. The successors to Bishop Hopkins were Rev. William Henry Augustus Bissell, D. D., March 11, 1868; Rev. Arthur Crawshay Allison Hall, June 22, 1893, the present (1928) bishop. Thirty-five, twenty-five and a still unfinished thirty-five are the periods of the "three episcopates that span the history of the church in Vermont as an independent diocese."

The Methodist churches in Vermont were, at first, closely associated with bodies of the denomination in neighboring States, usually as members of "circuits." The New Hampshire and Vermont Conference was formed in 1829, out of which grew the New Hampshire Conference in 1832. The Vermont Conference was not organized until 1845, at Rochester, being presided over by Bishop Edmund Janes. The Conference was divided into the Danville and Springfield districts. Sixty-two charges and 9,335 members were reported at this first State conference.

In 1853, the Catholic church within Vermont was set up as a separate diocese, and the See located at Burlington. Very Rev. Louis De Goesbriand, Vicar-General of the diocese of Cleveland, Ohio, was appointed the first bishop, and took up his residence in Burlington, November 5, 1853, at which time there were about 20,000 Catholics scattered throughout Vermont, with six priests and five church buildings.

Interdenominational Affiliations—All of the State organizations so far mentioned of this early period were denominational affairs. They were created as machinery for the increase of members and churches of their own sect. Independence in religious beliefs ran so high that these conventions and conferences and the like marked an advance in the get-together spirit which was quite notable. As folk in scattered churches met together they were agreeably surprised to find their ideas were very like those of others, and that it was possible to unite for the spread of these ideas. Nearly all of this coöperation was sectarian, however, there being but two evidences of the interdenominational fellowship which was, very many years later, to become so vital a characteristic of religious work. The first was the formation of the Vermont Bible Society in 1812. The idea originated at a meeting of Congregational and Presbyterian ministers at Westminster in September of that year, when it was suggested that a committee be appointed to prepare a plan for an organization, undenominational in character, which would distribute

Bibles "among the indigent and those who have not the opportunity of obtaining them." Thirty-six laymen, including the Governor of the State, met in Rutland and perfected such an organization in October of that year. County societies were formed, and during the first year more than five hundred Bibles and Testaments were distributed. An American Bible Society was founded in 1816, of which the Vermont society became a branch. At one time there were, in the larger towns, thirty-five depositories from which Bibles were distributed by sale or gift. The Vermont Bible Society received in 1924 a bequest of $25,000 from Colonel Charles A. Greenleaf, of Boston, a native of Danville, the income to be used only for the purchase and distribution of the Bible in Vermont.

Colonel Greenleaf was a man of strong religious convictions and a devout believer in the Gospel message and in the efficacy of prayer. From boyhood he carried in his pocket a New Testament from which it was his daily habit to read. For more than sixty years it had been his custom to carry his Testament within a little flat silver case which he had made for the purpose. This case, together with the book which he carried during the closing years of his life, is now in the custody of the Tuck Memorial Historical Society.

The First Sunday School—Quite the most hopeful "sign of the times," religiously, was the founding of the Sunday school and the holding of the first Vermont Sunday School Convention. Robert Raikes opened in England (1781) what was probably the pioneer Sunday school as a means of giving some of the poorer children something to do on the Lord's Day. The idea reached this side of the ocean some ten years later in Philadelphia, but it was not until 1816 that Sunday schools were introduced in New York. Two outstanding features marked these first schools: 1. They were benevolent affairs intended for poor children; 2. They were interdenominational. Ashbel Hale, one of the first settlers of Greensboro, Vermont, as he testified in later years, never had heard of such a thing as a Sabbath school when he began, in 1808, to teach his family as a *class* on Sunday evenings. Two years later, "a prominent woman" asked to have her children admitted to the class. All that was attempted at first in this school was to oversee the recitation of the Scriptures, hymns and the shorter Catechism, but soon Mr. Washburn was adding a bit of instruction and explanation, which was frowned upon, for the clergy were supposed to have a monopoly of religious teaching. But the class grew, in spite of discouragement which amounted almost to opposition, so that in 1814 (June 25) Deacon Washburn was compelled to go to the schoolhouse to have room

for his pupils, where the Sunday school was regularly organized with a superintendent and five teachers. Meanwhile, Rev. Samuel Goddard had organized a Sabbath school (1812) in the Concord Corner Church, which was probably the first in the State to have regular officers. Later, although this is ahead of our story, the Rev. Mr. Goddard organized a class for Sabbath school teachers, out of which developed what has been called the "first normal school in America," having enlarged its activities to include the training of teachers of the public schools.

Associated with the deacon was Ashbel Hale, Esq., who, although not a member of the church, became superintendent of the original Sunday school and president of the Greensboro "Moral Society," which decided that the best way to promote public morals was by promoting Sunday schools. On June 25, 1817, a Sabbath school "Exhibition" was held in Ashabel Hale's big barn. This was the first Sunday school convention held in New England and the second in the United States. Nearly all the ministers for miles around came, some even from Montpelier. There are no records of what was done at the "Exhibition," but it is known that the revival which had started in Greensboro just prior to the meeting and which added fifty-three to the church of that place spread to many parts of Northern Vermont. Strangely enough, or naturally, Ashabel Hale was one of the first converts. In June, a century after the founding of the first class, a monument was erected upon the site of the Hale barn in honor of its former owner. At the hundredth anniversary of the first Sunday School Convention, another was held at Greensboro, in which secretaries from each of the New England States participated.

A Period of Decline—The creation of State-wide denominational organizations and of cordial interdenominational relations were accompanied by revivals, remarkable increases in the number of church members, the beginnings of missionary enterprises and of a larger outlook and service. If the first third of a century was an era of integration, in the second there were elements within the religious life of the State which were disintegrating in their tendencies, and there were external conditions which profoundly affected the churches to their detriment. In 1837, there were more members of the Congregational churches than at any time after that year until 1916—23,036 as compared with 23,129. In 1840, there were 11,101 regular Baptists reported; before the end of the decade the number had fallen to 7,652, and the period is written of as "one of shame and gloom." Thompson's "Vermont" states, of the Methodists, that

in 1841, "there were in the State one hundred and twenty-eight traveling ministers, one hundred and twelve local ministers and 16,039 members." It was not until the end of the century that these figures were exceeded in the Methodist church. In the fifteen years from 1853, the Episcopal church had one fewer clergyman, but had five more parishes and an increase in membership of four hundred. Other and newer sects had arisen and become established in Vermont, but all through the middle part of the nineteenth century the net growth in church members was very little, with the exception of the Catholic church. The figures quoted in this paragraph may be open to question, as statistics of the older times are too often mere estimates, but there can be no doubt that the religious life of Vermont, as reflected from its Protestant denominations, was in a decline, or, at the best, stationary from the 1840-1850 decade almost to the present century.

This condition may be accounted for in several ways. One father in the church says it was due to the "worldly spirit which had entered into religion," an accusation which has been brought against Christians of every age. Others have pointed out that the middle half of the century was notorious for the number of splits and divisions in churches and denominations, but have failed to show whether these were causes or results. Members would quarrel over principles and policies, and the minority would separate and form a new organization, so that there were often several churches of one denomination in a single town of small size. Rather more conspicuous was the rise of new sects from divisions of the old. Unitarianism spread from the neighboring States, and the Unitarian church in Vermont rose to its greatest heights and membership during this so-called period of decline, a statement which might be repeated of the Universalists. The "Advent" excitement split many societies, the Baptists being the greatest sufferers. The Seventh Day Adventist, Free Baptist Christian and other allied denominations combined soon exceeded the Baptist church in buildings and members. There were at least four types of Methodism; and the too-few Presbyterian churches held allegiance to a like number of bodies. As late, or as early, as 1900 there were more different sects in Vermont than there were days of the month, with a multitude of weak churches scattered all over the State, not half of which were strong enough to take care of themselves. The danger, particularly in a country which was agricultural in its industries, of too numerous and too feeble religious organizations had been recognized very early, and the "Union Church" arose to solve the problem. By 1850, the Union

church ranked a good fourth among the religious organizations of Vermont, but it is to be feared that this effort to overcome the difficulties of denominationalism but added another denomination to the lengthy list.

A Decreasing Protestant Population—Other reasons for the stationary state of the churches of the middle and later nineteenth century have been given; but was not the basal cause of it all a condition which had nothing to do with religion in origin? For almost a century the Protestant population of Vermont has not even been stationary; it has been slowly diminishing. From 1830 to 1920 the net gain in population of the State was 71,776. In 1830 there were just enough Catholics to have their first resident priest to come and lead them. In 1920, the Catholic church in Vermont claimed "a Catholic population of 100,000." Then there are Greek Catholics in Vermont; there are residents of foreign birth or origin who are non-Protestants; there have been an increasing number of Hebrew synagogues since the first Jewish congregation was formed, in 1875, at Burlington; there are faiths which hardly fall within a Protestant classification. The tide of native stock began flowing out of the State a century ago with the building of canals south to New York State and across that State. It ebbed even faster as the railroads of 1840 later opened up the great regions of the West. The aftermath of the Civil War gave another impetus to that flow; and the movement into the cities, outside the State, of our farm-bred boys has continued down to the present day. Vermont has managed to keep her population figures up through the introduction of foreign elements. She has just cause for pride in the manner in which her emigrating sons have builded other commonwealths. But it has been a fearful drain, and the Protestant denominations have no cause for shame in the showing they have made in the face of most disheartening conditions.

To those who would have the story of religion told in figures, here are certain statistics. The census of 1850 gave the following number of churches in Vermont: Congregational, 175; Methodist, 140; Baptist, 102; Union, 76; Universalist, 38; Episcopal, 26; Presbyterian, 11; Christian, 9; Roman Catholic, 8; Friends, 7; Unitarian, 2; Free, 1; minor sects, 1. The total number of churches making returns was 599. Professor Henry Fairbanks, about 1885, made a most interesting religious map of Vermont, showing the locations of all churches, the populations of the towns in which they were placed, average number of members of the churches and Sabbath school scholars, expenses, and a few other details. A rough count

of the churches indicates their number had decreased about fifty since 1850, and he marks the number of "extinct" churches of the Congregationalists—he indicates none of other denominations—as nearly seventy. The passing of the weaker country church had begun quite a while previous to Professor Fairbanks' survey. It is brought out that the average number of members per church, in the five largest denominations, ran from 56 to 80, and the average number of members to each minister employed ranged from 56 to 107. There were fewer Sunday school scholars than church members, and no denomination averaged as much as $1,000 as the yearly expenditure of their churches for all expenses.

Statistics of 1900—Somewhat fuller statistics can be given of

VERMONT CHURCHES IN 1900

Denomination	Number of churches	Number of ministers	Total membership.
Congregational	210	143	21,823
Methodist	189	161	18,057
Baptist	96	74	8,582
Protestant Episcopal	65	39	4,981
Universalist	40	30	1,816
Free Baptist	35	23	1,787
Seventh Day Adventist	21	10	545
Christian Connection	6	6	542
Presbyterian	3	3	351
United Presbyterian	3	3	292
Reformed Pres., Gen-l. Synod	3	3	205
" " Synod	3	2	134
Disciples of Christ	2	2	336
Friends	3	3	220
Wesleyan Methodist	4	4	150
Salvation Army	5	10	119
Evangelical Asso'n	1	1	55
Free Methodist	2	2	36
Independent	4	3	172
	695	522	60,205

The Roman Catholic statistics, based on population rather than communicants, were: Churches, 86; priests, 70; Catholic population, 57,000. Of six other denominations figures are not available. The Unitarians were represented by six churches, and the Advent-Christians, Swedish Lutherans, Welsh Baptists, and Hebrews, by one or more churches. The census indicated that the growth of the Protestant church membership had been about 5 per cent in ten years.

The Catholics had expanded from 26 churches, 20 priests and a Roman Catholic population of 11,000 during the same decade.

The Churches and the World War—When, in 1917, the United States became involved in war, new and imperative demands were made of the religious societies of Vermont. There were problems requiring immediate solutions, great duties to be performed under conditions most unfavorable. Churches, weakened in membership and leaders called into military and humanitarian services, must work miracles. Fortunately, the religious bodies of the State had both the spirit and the organization to meet all tests; the very custom of looking at life from the missionary or world-wide view was a preparation for altruistic efforts and sacrifice. The churches of Vermont responded in a patriotic and whole-souled manner to all calls upon them, and their members as civilians, soldiers, sailors, chaplains, welfare workers, speakers, leaders of "drives," in a thousand ways as patriots and Christians.

As soon as was possible after the declaration of war, the conferences, conventions and other State organizations of the various denominations stated their position in regard to the war. A resolution passed by the Congregationalists at Brandon, May 17, 1917, is illustrative of the attitude of the churches of Vermont as a whole. It was but one of a series of resolutions passed by the denominational associations. The one just mentioned read:

> 1. That the clerk of the conference be instructed to communicate to the President of the United States and the Governor of this Commonwealth, pledging the hearty support and whole-souled loyalty of the Congregational churches of Vermont through their leaders, pastors and people.
>
> 2. That a communication be sent to the Congregational churches of the State suggesting that pastors, leaders and people do everything in their power to assist the Government of the United States in the successful prosecution of the war, especially suggesting that the churches aid in the propaganda for the disposal of government bonds, in securing men and women for war service, in the production and conservation of food, in teaching thrift, the proper display and teaching of respect for the flag, the enlisting of the church clubs in Red Cross and similar war work, encouraging the formation of Home Guard organizations, welcoming such troops as may be quartered near churches, utilizing church buildings and plants where practicable for hospital and like purposes and above all displaying personal loyalty, encouraging self-sacrifice, and remembering the nation and the cause for which we fight, in prayer before the throne of the Heavenly Father.

This resolution was so thoroughly carried out by the churches of Vermont during the progress of the war that only methods used in carrying out the plan need further outlining.

The principal section of a resolution adopted by the Methodist

Episcopal church at the Annual Conference at Newport, April 18, 1917, introduces another phase of war activities:

> Resolved, That this Vermont Annual Conference, representing a constituency of fifty thousand members and adherents, hereby places itself on record as endorsing President Wilson's plan of universal military service on the selective principle as being absolutely necessary during the present war, and we hereby urge our Senators and Representatives at Washington to give voice and vote to this measure, and thus help to put our beloved country in her rightful place at the forefront of this contest in behalf of liberty and equality.

The churches were to feel severely the early and continuous drain upon their membership of men and women called into active war service. An accurate record of those coming from various denominations who engaged in this service during the war has never been made. It was the hope and desire of the individual churches that they might know where their young men and women were, and do all that was possible to aid them. The Government authorities were singularly reticent in regard to the camps in which men were located, or in giving any information about those who had come from any place or State. It is quite certain, that even at this late date, no complete list has been made of the number of church members of any given denomination who entered the national service. As nearly as is known, the *Baptist* church of Vermont, out of a total membership of less than ten thousand had 876 in service during the World War. Of this number, fifty received promotions, twenty-eight were cited for bravery, forty-eight made the supreme sacrifice, twenty being killed in action and twenty-eight dying of disease. Forty-three were wounded, five were shell-shocked and fifteen were gassed. The *Catholic* church, with sixty-seven parishes in the State and a Catholic population of 90,000, had 3,500 who served their country at home and abroad. The total casualties among this number were 180; 120 gave their lives on the fields of France and 60 died in America. The *Congregational* church, the largest Protestant denomination in Vermont, has never attempted to complete a record of its members in national service. Such figures as have been gathered show that from the *Episcopal* church of the State, 467 men were in the service of their country, of whom eighty-six were commissioned officers; three were killed in action; six died in the service. At least one churchwoman, an army nurse, died at her post in France. The *Methodist* church is collecting the records of some of her sons and daughters in war, but no figures are yet available, a statement which might be made of nearly every other denomination not already mentioned. Hardly any denomination but had some of its ministers

abroad or at home serving as chaplains, Young Men's Christian Association workers, or performing some definite religious or welfare task. At least one clergyman entered the ranks as a private.

Rev. Arthur J. LeVeer, Rev. Thomas E. McMahon and Rev. George E. L'Ecuyer, of the Catholic church, were commissioned as first lieutenant-chaplains, the first two serving many months in France. Rev. Chauncey A. Adams, of Danville, was the first Vermont pastor to offer himself for war work, and was assigned to the Ambulance Corps, sailing to France May 19, 1917, later being transferred to the "Y" work, and closing his overseas service as chaplain. Other Congregational ministers who resigned or took leave of absence to join the national forces as religious leaders were: Rev. William Boicourt, of Waterbury, expeditionary secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association; Rev. Charles A. Mock, of Newfane, who enlisted in the Medical Corps and was also transferred to Young Men's Christian Association work. Revs. S. Whitman Anthony, J. Duke King, of Rupert; Elliot O. Foster, of Essex Junction; William W. Evans, W. A. McIntire, of Danby; J. W. Barnett, of Barre; Arthur H. Bradford, James B. Sargent, of Northfield; Walter Thorpe, of Brandon; George S. Mills, of Bennington; Robbins W. Barstow, of Woodstock; C. F. Hill Crathern, of Old Bennington; Charles B. Bliss, of McIndoe Falls; J. Hall Young, of Ferrisburg; L. M. Isaacs, of Orwell, were some of the pastors of Vermont churches who for the duration of the war or for periods of six months or more were engaged in religious service in direction with the soldiery in this country or abroad. Rev. Paul Dwight Moody, the present president of Middlebury College, already a Chaplain of the Vermont National Guard, went abroad with his men as Chaplain of the First Vermont Regiment and later acquired high rank as one of three supervising chaplains of the American Expeditionary Forces.

From the Methodist church came Rev. Frank Oldridge, of Sheffield, who entered the Canadian Army in 1917, and served in the Medical Corps, in the Black Watch Department. He was wounded near Cambria, France, in 1918, and honorably discharged at the end of the war. President Benton of the University of Vermont entered the Young Men's Christian Association service abroad. He had the distinguished honor of having charge for a time of all the "Y" workers overseas, which service was highly appreciated by the military authorities. General Secretary George E. Robbins of the State Sunday School Association was another Young Men's Christian Association worker. Rev. George E. Price, D. D., of Rutland, had charge of part of the hut work near the front lines of the American Ex-

peditionary Forces. Rev. George C. Cornell, of Hinesburg, and Rev. David C. Reid were also "Y" workers. Rev. Charles M. Charlton, of Barnard, was the senior Methodist Chaplain of the Navy, holding the rank of Captain at the time of his resignation a few years ago. No doubt, just as remarkable a muster call of the ministers of other Vermont denominations could be made. The State stood ready to supply more than its quota of clericals, and did.

The clergy at home were overburdened with the weight of activities and responsibilities much the heavier, because their numbers had been depleted even as the church membership had, and because as trained speakers their services were in such great demand. In addition to the increased duties to his individual church, the minister often headed the various "drives" for national loans, the financing of the Red Cross and numerous other societies. He was the best of "four-minute" speakers. He directed many of the social and philanthropic activities in camps, when they were near, at departures and returns of soldiers and others, in relief work, during the influenza epidemic, of the post-war celebrations. The laymen were in no respect behind their ministers in patriotic zeal and eagerness to serve. Without exceptions and cheerfully, the churches complied with the requests of the Government, whether it was concerning food conservation, giving financial support to national measures and to the war-relief organizations, public gatherings to arouse the people, or just to plod along with their church attendance when coal was too precious to burn. The fewness of pastors and the number of absent ministers made it almost impossible for some churches to continue religious services. Many combined forces without regard to denominational lines. It was a period when most of the old interests were submerged in the concentration upon the great task which lay before the Nation.

The question is often asked, "What was the effect of the war upon the churches of Vermont?" Some maintain that the war spirit demoralized the work of the church, and that from this demoralization it has never recovered. It can hardly be that the hardships, the sacrifices, the fellowships of the war period did harm. Rather did they stimulate the religious devotion of Christians. In a very practical way missionary and benevolence gifts were increased, and these are very good thermometers by which to test the temperature of religion. The federation of forces worked good by spreading better acquaintanceship with the faiths of other denominations, and of uniting them in a common understanding. The great Inter-Church movement which followed after the war was enlightening in its pur-

poses, even though it failed of its objectives. It may be too early to estimate the effects of the World War upon the religious life of Vermont, but most certainly they need cause no worry.

Changes of Recent Years—Church methods have changed to meet needs, just as ways of doing things in any line of activity have not remained the same. Education and religion went hand in hand in the early days, and the founding of schools, usually academies, was customary; the academies of the State were, for the most part, of denominational origin. Denominationalism counts far less in education today than it once did. State missions and the sending of missionaries to towns not having church facilities was practiced almost from the first. This itinerant work died down and was revived again in the history of every denomination several times during the last century. A more modern form of this kind of religious work was the sending to the weaker churches undergraduates from the colleges, such schools as Moody institutions, and the theological seminaries. The little church of Shelburne has had forty ministers in less than fifty years since 1880, chiefly a succession of seminary students. There were many revivals in Vermont in the decade following the Civil War, and recurrences of phenomena have been factors in not only checking a decline in religion but in bringing about a normal growth. The revival is a less used means of growth in these later years.

Outstanding changes in the modes of religious activity of the modern period are: New conceptions on the part of Christians as to denominationalism, and the duties of the church to the community and itself; the greater prominence given to the young people's societies and the Sunday school; and the tendency towards consolidation of churches and work. Sectarianism still lifts its head, but there is an increasing readiness of all kinds of churches to combine for the better acquaintance and the performance of duties and pleasures. In some towns where there have been several struggling churches, amicable federations have reduced the number to one, and the influence of the Christians has been thereby greatly enlarged. The work for, and with, and by the youth in the churches is one of the most encouraging features of Vermont's religious life. Perhaps the future of the church lies in the spirit of devotion, with little recognition of sectarian lines, which characterizes youth. How far the improvement of transportation, the increasing use of the automobile, or even the radio, may affect the rural churches is a matter of perturbed conjecture. It is very easy to go to the larger villages and cities to attend divine worship; it has become increasingly difficult to either



SILVER LAKE, LEICESTER

secure or pay suitable men to fill the pulpits of the smaller churches. It seems quite likely that in the future, like the present, annual reports from the churches will record fewer edifices and larger ones; fewer congregations but those of larger numbers. Certainly the modern church edifice has greatly changed from its somewhat barren and unheated single-audience room of a century ago to a building with its auditorium well heated; with church parlors, kitchen and Sunday school rooms adjoining, or sometimes all contained in a modern parish house.

Vermont has made a notable contribution to the religious life of the world by sending out men, and some women, who became successful missionaries and great preachers. We may mention only some of those who carried the Gospel to other lands. Ira Carter Tracy, a native of Hartford, was the first missionary of the American Board to baptize a Chinaman into the Christian faith and was long a missionary in China. The present secretary emeritus of the American Board, James L. Barton, is a native of Charlotte and was formerly missionary in Turkey. George F. Herrick, born in Milton, was a missionary in Turkey and revised the Turkish translation of the Bible. Lewis Grout, of Newfane, was the pioneer missionary of the Congregational faith to the Zulus of South Africa. Miles J. Knowlton, of Wardsboro, was a missionary to China, where in the early part of this century Robert E. Lewis, of Berkshire, went to Shanghai as Young Men's Christian Association secretary and was an officer in the Boxer revolution in the American forces. The missionaries to India include Hollis Read, of Newfane; E. W. Parker, of St. Johnsbury, Bishop of the Methodist church in northern India at the time of his death, and George W. Bowen, of Middlebury, also editor for thirty-four years of the "Bombay Guardian."

In the spring of 1929 "Brother Joseph" Dutton, the famous missionary to the leper colony on Molokai Island of the Hawaiian group, sent to his Vermont friends a small photograph, and the first message received from this faithful worker since his physical breakdown in September, 1928. He was born in Stowe and moved with his parents to Wisconsin just before the Civil War.

He enlisted in the 13th Wisconsin Infantry when only twenty years old and, holding the rank of lieutenant, he went through the war, remaining for some years afterwards in Tennessee. He was baptized on his fortieth birthday as a convert to the Catholic faith, and he became affiliated as a missionary with the Trappists-Franciscans.

More than forty-five years ago he went to the leper colony at Kalawao, Molokai Island, Hawaii, where he served for many years

under the late Father Damien, who gave him the name of "Brother Joseph."

Many times "Brother Joseph" has been honored by Presidents and by his comrades. When, during President Roosevelt's administration, the American fleet went on its voyage around the world, "Brother Joseph" wrote to Roosevelt requesting that the fleet swing past his island's harbor so that the little leper children might see this unusual spectacle. Roosevelt sent him a letter granting the request. "Brother Joseph" has also received complimentary, and now almost priceless, communications from the late Presidents Wilson and Harding. Beloit, Wisconsin, has named a parish school for him, and the bank there has also honored him.

The story of the religious life in the State would be incomplete if it was not mentioned that the founders of the Mormon church, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, were both native Vermonters, the former a native of Sharon and the latter born in Whitingham. The Smith monument at Sharon was dedicated on December 23, 1905, the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, in the presence of many of the leaders of the Mormon church. Built of Barre granite, it rises to a height of fifty feet and ten inches, and is one of the largest pieces of polished granite in the world. The whole monument weighs one hundred tons.

Whitingham was not proud in later years of the only man from that town who was heard of throughout the world. A writer of Whitingham history, in discussing the connection between the town and the Mormon leader, wrote, "We deem it of little consequence in what locality he was born; it is sufficiently humiliating that Whitingham was his birthplace." Upon the occasion of the centennial celebration of the town in 1880, a native poet, in the course of a lengthy historical poem, recited these lines, which won the admiration of the audience for his wit and poetic ingenuity:

> What hath she done in all these years,
> Old Whitingham, 'mid smiles and tears?
> Raised her Goodnows and her Starrs,
> Merchants and bankers (bulls and bears).
> Reared the mayor of a city,
> And Brigham Young, Lord, what a pity!
> Pity! not for our good mayor,
> But for that Mormon old soothsayer.
> I said one Brigham Young she'd raised,
> But soon she sent him flying;
> Too many wives would set us crazed,
> One at a time is better.

Brigham Young was no prouder of his birthplace than it was of him. In a sermon addressed to his flock many years later he said, "We are surrounded with circumstances that control us to a certain degree. My father and mother moved into the State of Vermont, and it happened I was born there. I cannot help that. They might have stayed in Massachusetts, close to Boston. If they had, I should have been born there. I could not have helped that. I have no power to control such circumstances."

A Table of Church Statistics for 1927.

Denomination	Churches	Ministers	Members	Property
Advent Christians	22	50		
Seventh Day Adventist	45		1,250	
Baptist	104	76	10,636	$1,331,105
			(Endowment)—	506,284
Congregational	205	156	23,687	2,942,800
			(Endowment)—	874,898
Methodist Episcopal	104	98	13,039	1,275,050
Presbyterian U. S. A.	4	4	2,659	65,000
" Welsh	5	5	570	26,000
Protestant Episcopal	66	38	6,253	
			(Endowment)—	585,243
Unitarian	5	4	2,000	330,000
			(Endowment)—	75,000
Universalist	54	39	3,802	368,000
			(Endowment)—	68,715
		Priests	Pop.	Parochial Schools
Roman Catholic	95	84	90,000	21

There are several other denominations, including the Hebrew, Christian Science, and Spiritualist, represented among the religious activities of the State of which no recent figures are available.

Among the undenominational organizations are: The Vermont Bible Society, State Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association of Vermont, Windsor County Young Men's Christian Association, Vermont Council of District Young Women's Christian Association, Vermont Council of Religious Education, Vermont Christian Endeavor Union, of 140 societies and a membership of 3,775, and the King's Daughters and Sons, Vermont Branch.

CHAPTER X

OLD HOME DAY CELEBRATIONS AND PAGEANTS

Dear little town among the hills,
We sing thy praise today,
Bring grateful homage from our hearts
That turn to thee alway;
And so from every fireside hearth
Shall glad thanksgiving rise
For all thy sturdy, earnest past
That littleness denies.

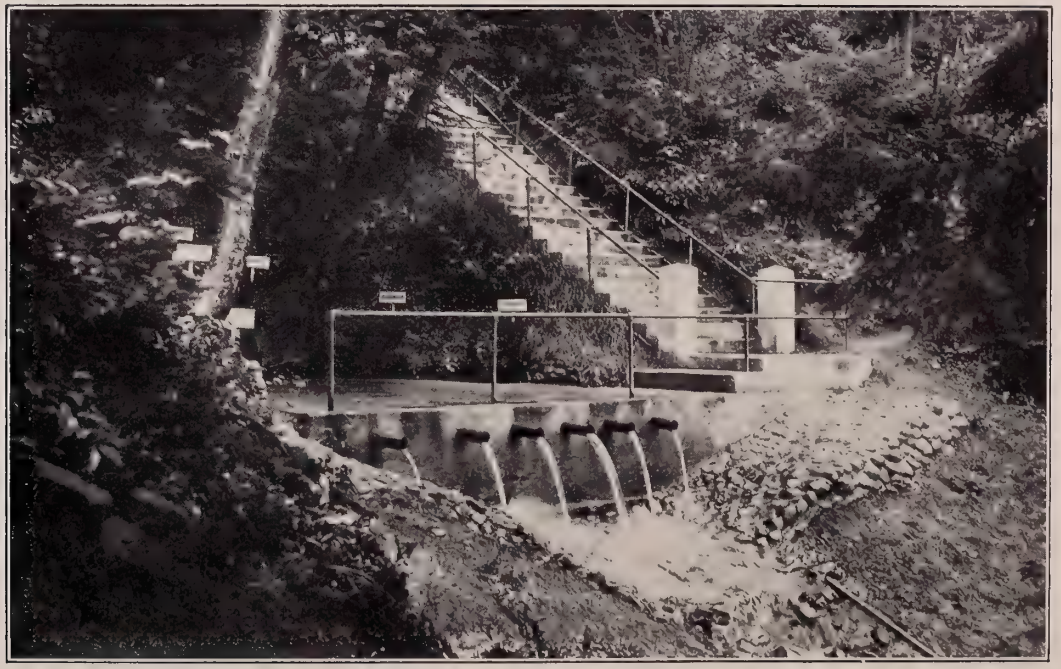
—*CAROLINE S. WOODRUFF.*

There has always been a great deal of the get-together spirit in Vermont. Whether this has arisen from the strong instinct for family which characterizes the true native, or the manner in which the settlement of the State was made, or from a combination of these with other factors, who can say? There is, most certainly, an unusual reverence and love of the home and family among Vermonters. The old custom of gathering at the homestead or the house of the father or older relative on all sorts of occasions has not died out. It may not be true that the chief pleasure of a Sunday is for all the children to meet at the father's table with other representatives of the clan. The automobile, while it has made such gatherings easy, has made it easier to travel distances which were long journeys to our forefathers, journeys to be undertaken only after careful preparations. Then, we play more on the Sabbath, amuse ourselves in ways forbidden in the older days. But the spirit is there, however weak the flesh; the family is a big thing in the affections, the Vermonter is clannish and hangs together; he foregathers less often with his folk, but with the more intense feeling because less often, and there is no real understanding of him without due recognition of the clan spirit.

The pioneer families, when they came to carve from the forests of the State their homes, could not group themselves in hamlets, however desirable this might be. It takes many acres of hill land to make a farm, and choice lots were more often than not somewhat separated. The meeting-house was the center and the reason for the settlement of most towns. The all-Sunday services were some-

thing more than a long sermon; it was the get-together place where separate families became citizens of a place. The town-meeting was usually held in the church, and everyone had a part in the discussion of the affairs of their own particular civil division of the State; the meetings were enlarged family conclaves. The tavern, which was the more often built as close to the church as was possible, was not a mere place to which one sneaked to drink and carouse. The tavern was the original men's club where goodfellowship ruled, where the heart expanded and the future grew bright, where big ideas were born and big things planned for farm and town and State. The grist-mill was the other member of the triumvirate which formed the nucleus of the hamlet and the village. These three, and later the country store, were factors of the highest importance in giving the Vermonter that feeling of solidarity of which the like is to be found in the other New England States, or those sections in the far west or far south which were the last frontiers of our Nation. He who has been fortunate enough to have been born in the Green Mountain State is certain to have put his roots deep into the soil of his birthplace or the place where his early years were spent. He may be transplanted, later in life, but the process seldom fails to leave much that cannot be torn out and, to drop the metaphor, the Vermonter cannot forget the region from which he came, and as the years pile up he longs the more to go again to the old home and town.

Vermont has contributed largely of her population to the upbuilding of other States; more than one-third of her sons and daughters dwell outside her borders. The larger part of these love their native State and the patriotic heritage and glorious history they possess in common. They have a spirit of loyalty to Vermont, are proud of their native region, are bound in ties of friendship and kinship. Memories of bygone days are pleasant; the regard for the old home is never lost; the attachment to the place of one's birth is never quite obliterated. Societies of native Vermonters had been formed throughout our country; reunions of those living far from the home country were becoming quite common among the native sons dwelling in necessary exile. Vermont had done very little to conserve the affection of her children for the place of their birth; that is, before the first year of the present century. Then it was that the Legislature of 1900 voted that the State have a week each year to be known as "Old Home Week," when the sons and daughters of Vermont at home or abroad might meet in a State-wide reunion and the ties of kinship and friendship be renewed and strength-



BRUNSWICK MINERAL SPRINGS

ened. The week having August 16 within it, the anniversary of the battle of Bennington, was chosen as the period for this reunion; celebrations were to be local to the towns, although these might combine in a county celebration, and the social features were to predominate over the formal, historical and literary. It was manifestly impossible to send by mail invitations to every former resident of Vermont, so a general invitation was to be extended to all who had ever lived in Vermont.

It was in fulfillment of the resolutions of the Legislature that Governor William W. Stickney, on June 20, 1901, issued the formal invitation to Vermonters at large to come again to the State in Old Home Week. "Be assured," read the proclamation, "that your welcome will be hearty, and the freedom of the State shall be yours. While the old State is small and mountainous and rugged, and while her valleys and meadows are less abundant in production than lands that lie nearer the sun, she is still rich in men and women, both within and without her borders, who love her yet and are proud to claim her for their own. To all her returning children we shall be glad to share hospitality and divide with them something of the strength of the hills."

The response to the proclamation was immediate and hearty, both within the State and without. Little towns which had thought themselves too small to attempt anything of even a local character began to make amazingly elaborate preparations; the larger places planned to leave nothing undone. Associations and clubs of former residents of the State expressed their intention of revisiting the scenes of their childhood. Hundreds of individuals determined to come again and return for the August week to their old homes and renew acquaintance with them and the friends of their youth, and renew their ties with loved ones who were fighting the battle of life on the homestead among the hills. Vermonters are not given to sudden enthusiasms, so that wide acceptance of the Old Home Week idea is the more notable, for the scheme was novel, despite the fact that the town of Wilmington had, in 1890, held a very successful reunion of past and present residents. As it turned out, forty-five towns and sections of Vermont celebrated during the week from August 11 to 17 to the lasting benefit of all who attended.

Visit of the Vermont Association of Boston—The most remarkable feature of the Old Home Week of 1901 was the visit of the Vermont Association of Boston, numbering more than one hundred and fifty native sons and daughters of the Green Mountain State. They arrived from Boston in their special train at White River Junc-

tion on August 13, where they were officially greeted by a committee appointed from the various departments of the Government. For the remainder of the stay of the Association, it was one round of visits and receptions at Montpelier, Burlington, South Hero, with individuals scattering to their former homes. There were many distinguished men among the visitors, and there were distinguished men at home to greet them. The party were given the opportunity of seeing certain sections of Vermont under ideal conditions. Many who had forgotten were made to appreciate what a handsome old mother State it was, and all came to realize that all the big folk were neither in the State nor had left it. It was a happy, broadening, inspiring experience for everyone, and the value of an Old Home Day was established without a quibble or a doubt.

Old Home Week in the Towns and Cities—As mentioned, between forty and fifty places observed Old Home Week, each in what was considered the best way for each locality. Bennington made the anniversary of the battle of Bennington the summit of its celebrations, and a comic procession featured with many "take offs" on local and State characters was carried on and applauded by the many spectators. Then came the grand procession, an elaborate banquet, much music through the afternoon and evening and fireworks at night. Banquets with speechmaking were given during the week, all delightful and distinguished. Bradford, the birthplace of Captain Charles E. Clark, United States Navy, of the famous "Oregon," whose exploits in the recent Spanish-American War had greatly aroused the pride of Vermont, was fortunate enough to have the Captain as a visitor, and the interest of the day centered somewhat around him. The program covered several days, with many speakers and receptions, public and private. Cavendish had 2,500 people participating in the Old Home festivities on Saturday, August 17, which was the climax of a week of homecomings. Cabot chose the first three days of the week for a long-to-be-remembered high-water mark in its quiet history. Chelsea had several hundred visitors who had returned to the town of their nativity, and joyous reunions were interspersed with public services. Jericho celebrated during the middle of the week, the public exercises being held in the central park. Ludlow had Governor and Mr. Stickney to do the honors for the village. A public dinner, addresses by several famous native sons and a concert at night featured the principal day. Lyndon celebrated Old Home Week uniquely, with a great basket picnic in Ide's Woods with ladies, graduates of Lyndon Academy in the "seventies," as the moving spirits of the event.

Montpelier played host to the distinguished Boston Association, with Captain Charles E. Clark, United States Navy; Hon. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, and Dr. Spaulding, of Syracuse, New York, all eminent sons of the capital city, as guests of honor. All gave a greeting and speech, as did several others of note. At a final public reception hundreds were present. At Manchester the Grand Army of the Republic post and the Daughters of the American Revolution directed the course of affairs to a successful conclusion on Thursday night. New Haven selected August 14 as their big day, and were joined in their celebrations by delegations from many of the other towns in Addison. Norwich, on the 16th, held a morning reception to returning children, with more than two hundred folks present. Northfield welcomed home many of her former residents, and around a great camp fire in the evening renewed old acquaintances and ties, with speeches interspersed from some of her eminent folk. Orwell was never more picturesque and attractive as when, gaily bedecked after weeks of preparation, she welcomed those who had gone in past years from the village. Pittsford had one hundred and fifty former residents registering in the guest book, coming from eleven States and two foreign countries. They were entertained with a playlet, by a parade, the longest and best ever seen in the village; and the day closed with a collation, with nine hundred present. Plymouth rejoiced in the presence of the Governor, who addressed the large crowd at the formal exercises. But there was also among the speakers one "J. Calvin Coolidge, Esq., of Northampton, Mass., a rising young lawyer and son of Col. J. C. Coolidge."

Pomfret, Peru and Peacham held very enjoyable celebrations of Old Home Week with public dinners, receptions and speech-making. Rutland followed an elaborate program provided by the Old Home Week Association. A drama, "A Colonial Girl," was given the second night; an excursion to the Vermont Marble Company, at Proctor, featured the third day; Thursday it rained; Friday there was a basket picnic, and a music festival; Saturday was a day of general reunions and farewells. West Rutland and Proctor joined with Rutland in the celebrations. Rochester had a royal good time, with exercises, field sports, band concerts and reunions. Reading observed its first Old Home Day in the village of Felchville, and was entertained and inspired by remarks, recitations and songs by a full dozen of her noted sons. Picturesque Stowe kept open house for her former residents, and outdid most of the villages in the State in having some special event for every day of the week. St. Johnsbury began the observance of the week with a reception at the Fairbanks Mu-

seum. The chief feature of the week was the banquet on August 16, at Pythian Hall, when three hundred were present. Native sons from several States responded to toasts. The week closed with the Odd Fellows Field Day outing at the fairground.

St. Albans had fourteen towns of Franklin County associated with the public observance of Old Home Week and staged a celebration the like of which the county had never before witnessed. Between 15,000 and 20,000 people were in attendance upon the festivities. The city was gaily decorated; a great tent accommodated the public gatherings for the exercises which were elaborate and varied. The outstanding event was the military, civic, industrial and floral parade, a most marvelous affair. Springfield carried out a carefully prepared program. Strafford started preparations late but wound up with colors flying. Townshend was host to three hundred and had more than twice that number at the speech-making and the reading of numerous letters from former residents. Windsor, the historic, enjoyed the day with feasts, receptions and special exercises. Twenty-five hundred people thronged the village and fifteen hundred partook of a substantial dinner at noon. Waitsfield ate and talked the day long upon the village green. Waterbury with hosts of visitors enjoyed a notable and full day. Woodstock's festivities ranged from field sports to reminiscent addresses by former sons. Waterford and Westminster observed Old Home Week with family and public re-unions, speech-making and music, and old-style dinners with toasts and merrymaking.

It is not possible to more than list the towns which observed the State-wide celebration of Old Home Week more than a quarter of a century ago. The names show how well the idea took hold on the hearts of the Vermonters, but the comments give but the faintest impression of how well the spirit of the "Week" was carried out. After all only the public events could be observed, and, however splendid and elaborate these were, they must be given second place to the private re-unions, the renewal of acquaintance with friends and places, the reviving of old ideas and affections and inspirations, the seeing again the homes of our youth with the eyes of maturity.

> But what to us are centuries dead
> And rolling years forever fled,
> Compared with Thee, O grand and fair Vermont—
> Our Goddess Mother?
>
> Strong with the strength of thy verdant hills,
> Fresh with the freshness of mountain rills,
> Pure as the breath of thy fragrant pine,
> Glad with the gladness of youth divine.

Pageants—The Old Home Week proved a splendid idea and in practice showed itself helpful and valuable to both town and State. The celebrations became more elaborate; there was no standing still, there couldn't be, live things either progress or fail. After a half dozen years the problem before the towns was, "What can we do to continue and increase the benefits which have been received from Old Home Week?" The "pageant" proved, in many places, to be the answer. This word was being bandied about and was defined in many ways, from an enlarged parade to an elaborated staged spectacle. Some of the larger cities in the country had promoted pageants or were doing so for future presentation. At the Champlain Celebration of 1909 a pageant had been given at Burlington and had proved an interesting part of the program, although thrust somewhat in the background by the presence of so many great men and orators from all over the world. The pageant was a new idea in the early years of this century and interest in new things in Vermont is apt to gather headway rather slowly. The year 1911 was the one hundred and fiftieth since the founding of a large number of Vermont towns, and many of them were determined to celebrate their one hundred and fiftieth anniversary in some splendid way. It was the necessity of doing something better and the determination by the few that, despite apathy, this better thing should be done that the idea of holding a pageant was seized hold of and pushed through to a successful completion in so many places in the State. As was to be expected the work was done by a few in many towns, in some cases the money needed was raised by private subscriptions, and in a few villages plans were so long delayed as to make the staging of a pageant impossible and therefore postponed until another year of preparation had been rushed through with over-much rapidity.

There is no intention of giving the impression that the pageant was adopted generally as the mode of celebrating the anniversary year of 1911, for, on the contrary, in most towns this was not so, the observance of Old Home Week or Day in a slightly more elaborate way satisfying the larger number of places. Then, too, some of the celebrations were so much on the border line between a spectacular parade and a pageant that one would find difficulty in giving it a name; either pageant or parade would apply. The year 1911 may be called the "pageant" year, however, not only because of the number staged but because it marked the real beginning of the pageant as a feature in civic celebrations, just as 1901 was the year of the first widespread introduction of Old Home Week. The chief difference brought about during the decade which had passed between the two

was the growing emphasis placed upon the historic in connection with the observations; the movement had progressed beyond the notion of a simple get-together affair to an attempt to show reasons why native sons and daughters should be proud, as well as happy, to come back to the old home town, and the history of the settlements in Vermont was one of the very best reasons for being proud of one's home place. If there be any special value to pageants it lies in the fact that they are attempts to picture the historic, revive the memory of the forefathers who did things worth recalling, to picture the dangers and hardships, the courage and abiding faith, the hopes and achievements of those who laid the foundations of so noteworthy a State.

In the year 1761 Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, granted more than sixty charters for towns west of the Connecticut River and eighteen similar grants for eighteen towns on the east of the river. It was eminently fitting that in 1911 should be celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of so many of the towns of Vermont. It will be recalled that the lands bestowed were known as the New Hampshire Grants, and that New York claimed the territory thus granted, and, although the former relinquished her claim, New York did not. The pioneers of the Wentworth grants probably did not care much who made the claims so long as they did not interfere with their peaceful possession of their farms. But they were interfered with, and there was border warfare by the "Green Mountain Boys" fighting to hold what was theirs until the outbreak of the Revolution. Vermont's quarrel with her neighbors on either side led to the first (1772) American Declaration of Independence, and the establishment by the free mountaineers of Vermont of a Republic which existed until it became the first State to join the original thirteen. There was history enough made during the thirty years after the incorporation of the sixty towns to supply the material for many pageants and celebrations. The towns in Vermont receiving charters in 1761 were: In Addison County, Addison, Bridport, Cornwall, Leicester, Middlebury, New Haven, Panton, Salisbury, Shoreham, Weybridge; in Bennington County, Arlington, Bennington, Dorset, Glastenbury, Manchester, Peru, Rupert, Sandgate, Shaftsbury, Sunderland, Winhall; in Essex County, Brunswick, Ferdinand, Granby, Guildhall, Maidstone, Wenlock; in Orange County, Fairlee, Strafford, Tunbridge; in Rutland County, Brandon, Castleton, Clarendon, Danby, Mount Tabor, Pawlet, Pittsford, Poultney, Rutland, Sherburne, Shrewsbury, Sudbury, Tinmouth, Wallingford, Wells; in Windham County, Marlboro, Newfane; in Windsor County, Andover, Barnard, Bridgewater, Cavendish, Hartford, Hartland,

Ludlow, Norwich, Plymouth, Pomfret, Reading, Sharon, Springfield, Stockbridge, Weathersfield, Windsor, Woodstock. A number of these towns commemorated their anniversary in 1911, among them being Bennington, Danby, Hartford, Ludlow, Pittsford, Pawlet, Rutland, Springfield, Tinmouth, Thetford and Wallingford.

Of other towns not included in the above lists which held special celebrations during that same year might be mentioned, Athens, Chelsea, Franklin, Highgate, Pownal, St. Johnsbury and Vernon. Athens with a population of only one hundred and seventy-five had three times that number in attendance upon its Old Home Day observance in August. Chelsea celebrated the whole week of August 14 to 20 and probably deserved a medal for observing Old Home Week more than any other town, this being the sixth. It had celebrated its hundredth anniversary of settlement in 1884, and rose to unusual heights at the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary in 1919. At Highgate, on July 12, was held the twenty-third reunion of the Thirteenth Vermont Regimental Association. Pownal erected a monument to James Fisk, Junior, its most noted native son, born there in 1834. The fiftieth anniversary of the Third Vermont Regiment was held at St. Johnsbury, and one of the principal events of July 18 was the unveiling of a boulder marker of the site of Camp Baxter. In Vernon, on the site of old Fort Bridgman (built in 1737), was dedicated a marker, with the aid of the Brattleboro Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution. To quote from the tablet placed on the boulder, which was brought from the "Howe" farm, Fort Bridgman was, "the scene of many Indian massacres, sacked and burned by the Indians for the third time, June 27, 1755, after having slain Caleb Howe, and taken captive fourteen persons, among whom were his wife, Jemina Howe, and her seven children."

Turning to those towns celebrating their one hundred and fiftieth anniversary in other ways than pageants: Danby, chartered August 27, 1761, enlarged upon its Old Home Week exercises. Ludlow, September 16, 1761, did likewise, but added a fine historical exhibit in the Fletcher Library. Pittsford, chartered October 12, 1761, commemorated with a Gala Day parade between the village and Pittsford Mills. The parade almost was a pageant by reason of the character of the floats. Pawlet, August 26, 1761, held a double anniversary, for Simeon Burton and William Fairfield began its permanent settlement that same year, an unusual condition, for most of the New Hampshire grants were made to speculators who made no attempt to develop them. Rutland was doubly chartered in 1761, the first coming from Governor Wentworth and dated September 7, the

other being granted by Colonel John Henry Lydius of Albany, New York, as Fairfield. The double event was celebrated in conjunction with the County Fair, the best held since it was instituted. Springfield and Weathersfield were both chartered the same day, August 20, 1761, and the anniversary was jointly celebrated at Springfield on Sunday. Tinmouth, chartered September 15, 1761, was unfortunate in its weather but this did not dampen out its enthusiasm. Wallingford, chartered November 27, 1761, celebrated its anniversary in August with a parade, a pageant, and the issue of its newly written Town History. The pageant was so thoroughly successful that another was given the following year on Independence Day, thereby setting an example of a safe and sane method of celebrating the ofttimes dangerous Fourth of July. Cavendish, chartered October 12, 1761, did not celebrate her 150th anniversary until Old Home Week of 1912, and combined a pageant-parade with other more usual features. In these it was joined with the other village of the town, Proctorsville, to which it is closely linked by many interests as well as by the Black River and a good highway. History was being made in this section years before the land grant. There were unique markers which for more than a century stood by the roadside near Felchville, in Reading, inscribed: "On the 31st of August, 1754, Capt. James Johnson had a daughter born on this spot of Ground being Captivated with his whole family by the Indians." This refers, of course, to the birth of Elizabeth Captive Johnson, the third child to be born in Vermont who remained a captive of the Indians, with her mother, for nearly a decade. A half century later, Mrs. Johnson identified the place where the Indians stopped that she might be delivered of her child, and contracted for the placing of stones to mark the spot, and the birthplace of her daughter. Her instructions were ignored but we know that the birth-marker should have been "a half mile up the Brook" or near Cavendish.

The Big Three of 1911—There were three pageants which stood out prominently among those of 1911, those at Bennington, Hartford and Thetford. Each was distinctive and differed from the other, but all were somewhat alike in motive, spirit and results. The "Historical Pageant of Bennington" pictured scenes well known to the reader of national and State history with little emphasis on that which was purely local. The school boy learns about the battle of Bennington as he does about the battle of Lexington; both led to the formation of republics, one consisting of thirteen States, the other comprising but one, but the first on this continent. The battle of Bennington was the dramatic center around which the pageant developed.

The site of the pageant was the large natural amphitheatre in Clarks Woods just outside Bennington. The first act, or episode, brought out the connection of Bennington to New England. It opened with the Red Lion Inn at Portsmouth, the capital of the colony, with the bare-footed Martha Hilton, maid of all work, being laughed at for her state of dishabille. Suddenly the coach of Governor Wentworth arrives. The scene changes to a period five years later and shows the marriage of Martha Hilton and the Governor. The second episode presented the actual settlement of the town by the Robinsons, the Harwoods and the Pratts in June, 1761. Bridget Harwood wins the race of the ladies to be first upon the land, and the riding-whip which she thrusts into the soil becomes the first apple tree in the township.

Other peaceful scenes and then the gathering of war-cloud. The famous Catamount Tavern, reproduced in hewn logs, forms the background for a protesting group, with Ethan Allen (Judge Holden) urging no submission to the New York authorities who claim jurisdiction over the newly purchased and settled parts of Vermont. Word arrives that Remember Baker has been seized by the New Yorkers, and the hard-riding fighting "Volunteers" ride off to rescue Baker.

The chief episode of the pageant was the battle of Bennington. As everyone knows, General Burgoyne was making his way without resistance from Canada to New York, and keeping his commissariat supplied by forays upon the towns along the way. Bennington was depended on to supply its quota, and it was the resistance of that town which delayed Burgoyne a month and gave time to the colonies to gather troops which were to defeat him. In the pageant the townsfolk and the soldiers are fraternizing, with excitement amounting almost to consternation seen upon every face, for it was known that the English and their savage allies were in the neighborhood. A horseman rides in with the cry, "The British are coming!" Stark's men fall in and march off to the strains of martial music to resist the foe. Then over the hill come the red-coats and the bronze savages; they halt to fortify the heights. Stark attacks and the Indians flee. The British are hard pressed and victory is almost within the grasp of the patriots when Breyman appears with reinforcements and the battle rages higher than ever. Then Warner arrives on the run with fresh troops; the British are beaten and flee, and the Colonials parade their red-coated prisoners to the tune of Yankee Doodle.

The battle scene, particularly when viewed under the dim lights at the evening performance, was especially realistic, spectacular and impressive. Gaudy British Regulars, furtive skulking Indians, the

Colonials in all shades of the rainbow, cannon and rifle shots, red fire blazing everywhere,—what a colorful amazing spectacle it made. Spectators were gripped by the drama of the thing, they forgot in the shadow of the night that they were looking upon individuals whom they knew and saw only the parts of armies in desperate battle, —it was real. This was the first time in America that an attempt had been made to reproduce a battle scene, and the successful manner in which it was staged was truly remarkable. A few closing episodes, the singing of the National Anthem, a last review of all who had participated in the pageant and lights out. Several thousand people had realized the stirring history of Bennington as was not possible through books and word of mouth; never, possibly, since 1777, were the people of Bennington so closely united for municipal advancement as they had been in preparing for this pageant, nor have the beneficent effects of the coöperative spirit of that day yet passed away.

The Hartford Pageant—To Hartford must be given the credit for staging the first civic pageant in Vermont. The town was chartered July 4, 1761, and gave the days from July 1 to 5 on 1911 in celebrating the event. Everybody went in wholeheartedly to create a pageant which would be an artistic success, and an illustration of the public spirit of the town. Different villages were given definite things to do and provide. From Hartford came the "captives"; from West Hartford the "scouts"; Wilder provided the "Indians"; Quechee, five miles distant, sent the sixty "first settlers." Dartmouth students were the Y. M. C. A. boys; "the Loyal Club furnished the Husking-bee, the West Lebanon Fortnightly the Wedding-Guests and the Royalton Refugees, the White River Woodmen, the British Soldiers and the Provincials, the Hartford Woodmen, the French Soldiers" and so on. The clubs and the villages, in most cases, financed the costuming of their contingent. One of the finest features of the pageant was the community spirit which made it possible.

The pageant itself was historic, of course, and represented the important periods in the development of the town, going back to the Indians who first possessed the country. The site chosen was, in appearance, an open glade by the side of a river. Here, in the first scene, the Indians were encamped and celebrating the success of a hunt. A messenger enters with word of an approaching enemy, and the tribe slinks off the scene. Hertel de Rouville, French seignior of Canada, and his band of Quebec soldiers and Indians break through the woods, and the stage is filled with captives from Deerfield including the Rev. John Williams and his children. Colonial Scouts, Bri-

tish soldiers, follow each other across the stage until the green curtain lifts in the back to disclose the guests at the wedding of Governor Wentworth. Dancing and merry-making is interrupted by the entrance of men a-horse from Connecticut asking for charters for the four townships at the mouth of the White River.

The scene shifts to the Wilderness again, and the first settlers arrive, Daniel Hazen and his bride, Mrs. Gillett and her babe, the Marshes, Strongs, Tildens and the Wrights. A Sunday service is held with Aaron Hutchinson as the preacher, Eleazar Wheelock, with a group of Dartmouth students, is welcomed by the first settlers. A shift of scene with the time June 19, 1775, with the question of rebellion against Great Britain to be decided. There is acted out the old story of Hartford when she "elected a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, four sergeants, and five corporals, and had one private left, and they drilled him until he fell down all tired out." The last episode was the stirring one of the "Indians at Royalton" with the women and children scurrying in headlong haste before the marauding savages, who, in turn were overtaken by the minute-men. The grand finale disclosed the more than three hundred who worked so long and so skillfully to make the Hartford Pageant so wonderful an event.

An enlightening aftermath of the pageant was the "Hartford Forward" movement started the following year. There had been many improvements in the rural life of the town advocated, many splendid ideas expressed, but nothing done. The pageant proved that Hartford folk were capable of pulling together and doing big things, and hinted of what might be done if some worthwhile program of activities could be planned. Without going into the particulars, the upshot of much consideration and numerous meetings, was the Hartford Forward Movement, whereby an elaborate, but practical, outline of things needed by the town was laid down with the means and methods of getting them. Committees and societies were appointed, arrangements made, means provided and proper oversight provided for by which the get-to-gether spirit manifested in the staging of a pageant might be utilized for the more permanent benefit of the community. The "movement" succeeded far beyond the most sanguine hopes of those who originated and labored in it.

Thetford Pageant—Thetford was an agricultural town which, like most of the farming towns of upper New England, had been struggling with the rural problems confronting it and slowly being beaten.

Its total population was less than 1,200, but little larger than that when Vermont was taken into the Union. Moreover the town was split into six villages of somewhat dissimilar interests and character, but all frankly in a rut and discouraged from efforts to get out of it. Celebrations of Old Home Week had helped a little and stirred ambition—slightly. A few years before the original charter of the town, which was dated August 12, 1761, had been discovered. There was a movement being started in the State for a special observance by the many towns chartered in that same year of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The question was, "Could Thetford do anything special about it, and was it worth the while if it could." This question was placed plainly before the townspeople during Christmas week, 1910, one day when the thermometer registered twenty-three below zero with a wild storm raging over the hills. There was a large audience, and they were told what a pageant was, —there was need of this, for the pageant was a rather new thing patterned after an English form of celebration—that it might be made a very good thing for the town. But to give one there must be absolute unity of purpose and work, and the best direction must be secured. It would cost money, it would take a deal of time just when such time would be the most difficult to spare, and a start must be made at once. The folk of the six villages decided that a pageant would be given; money was voted and more promised as needed; and a committee appointed with Arthur B. Palmer, a farmer with most of the members being farmers or farmers' wives. It was further decided that the pageant would cover not only the ancient history of Thetford, but carry the history down to the present and even consider the future. Thetford was to be the hero of the spectacle, of the drama of an agricultural community. There was a dual purpose behind this plan to stage a splendid festival and celebration, that of memorializing a historical event and to prove that one group of Vermont farmers could coöperate. If the six scattering villages could join forces in three August days of play, it would be proof that they could get together for larger undertakings for the progress of the town. The pageant days were brought to a most happy conclusion after faithful and very great endeavors. The best criticism of the whole event was that made by one of the most honored citizens of the town: "I have lived in this town over seventy years, but this day makes it all worth while!"

The Form of the Pageant—The pageant as constructed and given consisted of five symbolic scenes and twelve realistic episodes. "The



AS IN A LOOKING GLASS

five symbolic scenes were generalizations of the condition of the town at various periods, expressed in terms of dramatic symbolism . . . . taken by themselves they would be found to constitute a history, in symbolism, of the progress of the town. The twelve realistic episodes were typical incidents from actual occurrences of the past, or such as are characteristic of the present or future. They were not separate little pictures, logically unrelated to each other, but twelve scenes, comprising the four acts of one continuous play. . . These groups dealt with: (1) The making of the Town; (2) the Development of the Town; (3) the Depletion of the Town; and (4) the Future of the Town."

Thetford's early history is not unlike that of many of the towns in the State, but as disclosed in the pageant from the incident of "Old Quail John" the first settler through Burgoyne's Invasion to the founding of the villages took on an importance and interest not to be derived from the printed page. The second group of episodes showed the development of the town in education, business and transportation. The third group pictured the slow dwindling away of the population of Thetford beginning with the stream of recruits sent to the Civil War the tide of which never turned; the introduction of machinery and the movement away from the farm; the division of families over questions of progress. This third episode was the dark side of the spectacle and illustrated the lowest stage in the development of Thetford. Color and light came again in the last act which was supposed to be in the future, the far future of 1915! In this was pictured the New Agriculture, the New Education and the New Life. Curiously enough this renewed life was disclosed by the dialogue of two characters, one of whom was supposed to be a western farmer born in Vermont who returns to combine forces and methods with those who have remained in their native State. Then the finale with Vermont seen coming over the hill mounted on a Morgan horse carrying the State flag and Shield, while the people sang.

The Pageant of St. Johnsbury—This notable event, staged in the middle week of August in 1912, commemorated the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town and was carried to a successful conclusion at an expense of about $7,000 with 700 actors participating in the various episodes. Ten thousand people witnessed the several presentations, seated on a grandstand on the Underclyffe estate overlooking St. Johnsbury Plain. "The entire setting was ideal; it was as if Nature foreseeing the event had planned her construction work expressly for it—laying out a greensward

floor flanked on the rear by the forest and opening frontwise down the pasture slope upon the village nestled among the trees, beyond which the river valleys stretch miles away toward the far horizon. To spectators of the pageant the effect of the play was heightened by the historic spots in full view and the picturesque scenery beyond—as, on a more imposing scale spectators from the seats of the dionysiac theatre at Athens witnessed the dramas of their great tragedians and at the same time had before their eyes the marble temples of their beautiful city, the stream of Ilyssus, the heights of Hymettus and the blue waters of the sea." One of the interested spectators was Percy MacKaye, the noted poet, who told the writer the site was the most entrancing and inspiring of any of the numerous pageants he had seen.

The text of the drama was written by William Chauncey Langdon of New York City and the twelve episodes followed rather closely the manuscript for the history of St. Johnsbury, written by Rev. Dr. Edward T. Fairbanks and published two years later by St. John de Crevecoeur Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The interludes were dances of the Nature spirits, directed by Miss Madeline Randall, with Brookes C. Peters director of the music. The Commercial Club and the Woman's Club sponsored the affair and Frank H. Brooks was general chairman and ably assisted by many loyal workers.

No single event in the town's history ever engaged the united support of so many people of all ages and classes and as a dramatic and historic production it is doubtful if it can be excelled in days to come. It was the finest exhibit of community spirit ever seen and it resulted in awakening a renewed interest in the town and a determination to make better citizens of all.

The Value of the Pageant—It is rather amusing, looking back on history from the present, to see how different was the "Future" of the Thetford Pageant from the fact. Before 1915 arrived the United States was contemplating the entrance upon the greatest of all wars, a war which affected the destinies of the most isolated town in the Nation. Here was a pageant which made the mimic affair seem very futile. The pageant did pass as a feature of town celebrations; it was, after all, intended as an event seldom repeated if for no other reason than that it would be impossible to continue restaging the history of a town interestingly. The benefits derived from the pageants were not ephemeral. They were an effort to teach, in a dramatic form, the history of a community, to impress upon the minds of the present-day folk, the characteristics of their forefathers and the

environment and conditions under which they lived and accomplished, to revive in the hearts of the sons and daughters of Vermont, at home and abroad, a new interest in the State and town which gave them birth and home. In this the pageant was fitted to succeed most admirably, and did. But it accomplished far more. It taught the town to realize itself and what it could do. The programs were of great elaborateness for any community to undertake, but there was not one town which failed to carry them through with great excellence. The immediate success in a coöperative attempt at play was a prophecy of what might be done with a like get-together for work. Districts were heartened to attack some of their rural problems, and it was the aftermath of the pageants which proved their value to the community. Without exception each town was inspired to a new effort looking to the improvement of existing conditions. Bennington set a mark which was hard to live up to. Hartford, the next year, outlined a program which attacked vigorously many problems which they had been slow to even consider. Thetford continued its Pageant Committee, without change of name, as a permanent organization to direct the agricultural, educational and social projects of the town. If one will but take the trouble to study the history of the years 1911 and 1912, one will be surprised to find that these years mark the begining of a new type of life in the rural communities; that the Agricultural Department of Vermont was enabled to come more closely in touch with the agricultural sections than they had been before and to introduce new and better methods of farm production and management. The boy and girl organizations were either revived or born during or shortly after this pageant period, a statement which might also be made of many civic organizations. Of the attention drawn to the State from outside its borders no mention need be made. The pageant paradoxically speaking was not a spectacular drama staged as a feature of an anniversary celebration, it was a civic movement for the invigoration and recreation of the agriculture, the industry, the educational and social life of the country town.

Hail! Vermont! Green Mountain State!
Bravely hast thou won!
Ride, superb! Despite all fate;
Ever leading on.

CHAPTER XI

THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1927

A hot-headed Carib wind one day
Blew up our unsuspecting way
And met a wintry wind that blows
From Kipling's Lady Friend of Snows;
Then everything 'twas ever classed
As "weather happenings" happened fast;
Each wind put up a frontal attack
To drive the other blow-hard back;
But scouty south-wind, moist and hot,
Was chilled to water on the spot,
Which fell in thunderous tons of rain
On happy hill and peaceful plain.

—*DANIEL L. CADY*

Early in November, 1927, a tropical storm hovered over Vermont and began to pour its torrents upon its green hills. Within thirty-six hours the already saturated ground was forced to receive a greater rainfall than had ever visited the State in so short a period. Warnings came from the mountains that every little brook and stream was out of its banks. Messages arrived from the more populous centers that all the lower sections of the villages were flooded and the rivers rising rapidly. Then the messages ceased. Communications of all kinds had been broken. Word of the disaster could not be sent even to the neighboring States. There was a night of "Black Silence" when all sorts of rumors were published in the newspapers of the Nation in the absence of authoritative news. The President of the United States sat and worried, wondering what cataclysm had overwhelmed his native State.

Within the round of a single day Vermont was deprived of modern conveniences, mail, telegraph, telephone, electric lights, gas, piped water, highways, railroad connections. She had been set back a century, compelled to live in ways practiced by the pioneers. And there was the handicap of flood and filth and threatened disease and lack of food and shelter. No one knew what had happened elsewhere, to towns, to friends, to relatives. Nor could the anxiety of others be relieved either in the State or out. The more serious of

these conditions did not hold for long, but it was something of a shock to be thrust back to the elementals of life, to do without what had been accepted as commonplace, and to do more and different things than had been the custom.

When much of the story of the flood had been told it was realized that never in the history of the State had there been such an appalling loss of life in any single disaster. Forty-five lives had been snuffed out, so much became known; of the indirect victims of the deluge, of its aftermath, no accounting has ever been made. Never had any State suffered, in so short a time, such a great physical damage. The monetary loss was estimated at over $30,000,000, but here again no estimate can be made of the economic losses to the State. The country and settlements in the Winooski Valley bore the heaviest destruction of the deluge. The heaviest damage to roads and bridges of the highway system along any single stream was caused by the White River, the estimate for these two items totalling one million and a half dollars. Nearly every river in Vermont except the Deerfield, wrought destruction; there were few sections of Vermont not harmed by raging waters. The story of the flood might be told as a tragedy in several acts, with a prelude and postlude, the scenes of which are laid in most parts of the State, the postlude being concerned with the work of relief and rehabilitation.

The Topographical Setting—In an early chapter of this work the mountainous terrain of Vermont with its many streams and lakes has been described. The picture may have failed to draw attention to the possibility of damage from excessive rainfall inherent in its high hills and narrow valleys. There are so great a number of rivers and creeks and brooks to carry off the water which falls upon the upturned landscape, so many, more than four hundred, ponds and lakes and reservoirs to store, for a time, any surplus moisture, that it hardly seemed likely that any calamity could come from the inability of natural watercourses to care for any rainfall that Nature would supply. There are thirty-two streams mentioned in the State report of the damage done to the highway system, as having shared in the disaster. The rivers of Vermont may be considered as belonging to four groups: The tributaries of Lake Champlain, of the Connecticut River, of Lake Memphremagog, and of the Hudson River. The chief tributaries in each group, from the standpoint of the losses caused during the flood, are: of Lake Champlain, the Winooski, Lamoille, Missisquoi rivers and Otter Creek; of the Connecticut, the White, Passumpsic, West, Quechee rivers, and the Black of Windsor County;



THE LAKE ROAD BETWEEN EAST HARDWICK AND HARDWICK AFTER THE FLOOD

(Courtesy of Walter and Jenks.)

of Lake Memphremagog, the Barton, Clyde and Black of Orleans County; of the Hudson, the Battenkill and the Hoosic. These streams, with others entering them, are located in every corner of Vermont, and some flow from, or through, other States and a Canadian province. They had been tested and tried by the storms of more than three centuries since the white man came to the country, and usually had been sufficient in number and distribution to handle the surplus waters of these centuries. But the valleys were narrow and made more so by the works of man. The railroads and the highways followed the valleys, and with roadways, bridges, culverts and other obstructions, hemmed in the small streams. The trend of population over a long period had been towards the valleys; towns had been built and grown large, further restricting the drainage powers of the rivers. The primeval forests of the State had been cut, and while there are quantities of second and other growths, the land is no longer capable of holding, like a sponge, a prolonged rainfall. Nature had balanced conditions to suit her purposes,—which are very unlike man's—and man had done his best to upset this balance. The result was that when the small streams of the country, which visitors often wonder why they are called "rivers," once started to rid the mountains of their flood waters, man's structures, —highways, bridges, railroads and houses were as but pebbles in the path of the raging waters. The rivers made new high water marks, changed their course where they pleased, dug channels where roads had been, broke through age-old barriers, moved millions of cubic feet of earth in hours which man cannot replace in years. When their work was done the streams quieted down to their former placid, charming ways, forgetful that they had destroyed more values than the giant Mississippi ever had at its worst, and taken more lives than any flood in America's history.

Floods of Other Days—It is true that the Vermont rivers occasionally went on a rampage, but there had been nothing in the past to prepare one for the almost unbelievable happenings of 1927. In some of the records of pioneer days mention may be found of minor disasters, in spring and autumn, when an overfull stream carried away the crude dam, built to impound the water needed to run a grist or saw mill, or when rushing waters had gouged through farm fields, or wrenched from its place some too low-hung bridge. There were flood conditions along the Connecticut River one hundred years and two months prior to the Great Flood, small items concerning which had found their way into the "Springfield Repub-

lican." Among others it printed a letter, a part of which reads: "It is sickening to behold our rich meadows, only on Monday last literally groaning with the greatest crop ever known, now covered as far as the eye can reach, like one great sea." From Brattleboro had come the story of a baby found floating uninjured in a cradle about a flooded room. The Enfield canal, then under construction, sustained $6,000 damage.

The flood of 1927 stirred up memories of cloudbursts and great rains, freshets and floods which had visited Vermont, long forgotten letters were re-read, and the newspapers and magazines printed many accounts of events. There were extraordinary freshet conditions at Montpelier in 1785 according to marks left upon the banks of the river and on trees. What is now State Street was evidently four feet below the high water level. Freshets visited the State in 1811, 1826, and again in 1828. That of July, 1811, was "the most destructive freshet ever known"—a remark often repeated in later years as the valleys became more settled. In July, 1830, after a week of extreme heat heavy rains fell, beginning with July 24, and continued for five days. Again it was the Winooski that went on a rampage, not a bridge being left across the upper stream, and the same thing was true of numerous other rivers. Most of the dams on the Mad River went out. "A resident of Calais was drowned at Montpelier. A young man lost his life while trying to cross the Dog River to Berlin on a raft. A Moretown woman was swept from her husband's arms and drowned." The damage to the Montpelier-Burlington turnpike was estimated at ten thousand dollars. From Bolton to Lake Champlain the Winooski Valley was a scene of desolation. Lake Champlain is said to have risen a foot in ten hours. At Randolph the damage was estimated at $70,000; in Burlington at $10,000; in Addison County at $60,000. Dwellings and mills and factories were swept away, and the damage to land and roads and standing crops was great. However many the exaggerations there can be no doubt of the severity of the flood of 1830, or that the losses were large.

July 14, 1850, caused another serious freshet. The flood of October, 1869, stood out prominently as one which was fairly widespread with lives lost and losses heavy.

Rain began to fall on Sunday morning, October 3, and continued until Monday night, October 4. A thread mill at Bennington was carried away and not a bridge was left in Woodford. A house was swept away at Woodford hollow, and three lives lost. Factories and mills were destroyed at Brattleboro, where the estimate of losses varied from $150,000 to $300,000. The damage



WINOOSKI AFTER THE FLOOD, SHOWING NEW BRIDGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AND PONTOON BRIDGE IN USE
(Courtesy of Vermont Airways Corporation.)

at Springfield, Vt., was said to be $100,000 and several mills and factories were washed away at Windsor. The damage at Ripton was said to be $110,000 and the same amount was given as the losses in Lamoille county. At Saxtons River, thirty-five thousand pounds of wool were lost. In Caledonia County the rain was said to be the most severe since 1826. There were heavy losses at the Fairbanks Scale plant in St. Johnsbury. The damage at Montpelier was estimated at $30,000. The Winooski rose so high at the State capital that the dining-room floor at the Pavilion Hotel was under water. (Crockett's "History of Vermont.")

In April, 1895, the central part of the State was hit hard by high water, and the Winooski was the chief destroyer. There have been many ice-jams in the rivers such as that which flooded, in February, 1915, St. Johnsbury Center so that people were rescued from second-story windows. But all of these floods and freshets were, as a rule, local affairs and seldom reached heights of destruction as to be a source of continued worry or the cause of any serious endeavor to establish safety or preventive measures against their repetition. In some villages a part of the business sections were located along some higher level, and, where it was possible, the tendency was to build the churches and public buildings upon elevated sites, although it is doubtful that fear of water had much to do with all this. The first settlers about Montpelier saw high water marks upon the trees, probably of a freshet of the preceding year, which warned them from building too close to the stream. D. B. E. Kent recounts that:

> On the banks of the Winooski, opposite the National Life Home Office Building, on November 3, 1927, there stood a gigantic elm, the last but one of two trees in Montpelier that stood in the original forest. This tree was carefully measured by the State Forester some years ago and it was found to be about two hundred and fifty years old. During those two and a half centuries it stood there beside the river weathering all the storms and all the floods. Sometime in the night of November third it was carried away. With it went all the roots and all the dirt for yards and yards about its base and no one standing on the site today would ever suspect that a tree had ever been there. This would seem to indicate that no other flood such as was this, has ever visited this valley since around 1675 at least.

Quite evidently the Winooski, in 1927, rose nearly twenty feet higher than ever before known; it was forty to forty-five feet above its normal level. Whatever the floods of the past, they were in no sense comparable to that of November, 1927.

Causes of the Flood—The prelude to the great disaster was no preparation for what eventuated. October had been a wet month,

the rainfall being double the normal. The ground was saturated and there had been overflows in some localities which had caused damage. It was quite to be expected that Nature would balance things by making November a bright dry month. Instead, on the evening of November 2, it began to rain, and continued with heavy precipitation for nearly forty-eight hours. Over the most of the State eight inches and more fell during this period. The ground could absorb none of this, and the water hurried into the already over-full streams plunging out of the mountains seeking a sufficient channel or receiving reservoir. Brooks became rivers, the rivers became torrents appalling in height and volume. An inch of rain seems not a large thing; even eight inches of water when spread over the surface of a lake fails to impress the imagination. F. E. Hartwell, meteorologist of Burlington, has pointed out that the Winooski basin with its thousand square miles of surface received on that area two billion cubic feet of water, enough to supply the needs of New York City's population for three months. It would be interesting to know what tremendous horse-power such a vast quantity of water could produce when impounded and harnessed. Mr. Hartwell did add to his comments: "All of this water flowing into narrow and low valleys within so short a time could have but one result; a flood perhaps will not occur oftener that once or twice in a century."

It has been explained that the phenomenal rainfall of November, 2, 3, and 4, was the result of very unusual meteorological conditions. A great storm area had wended its way from the Gulf of Mexico along the Atlantic coastal sections due north instead of northeast and to sea. Another storm area was drifting eastward from the Great Lakes and Canada. Neither would give way to the other and masses of heavy-laden clouds were held over Vermont and the States to east and south and the Canadian territory to immediate north through all these days, dropping their burdens in torrents upon a water-logged land. Even after normal storm movement was restored to the skies, Vermont continued to be cursed with rain, the Weather Bureau Station at St. Johnsbury recording 22 rainy days during November, the total fall breaking all records kept to that date. The most interesting explanation, however unscientific, of the causes of the Vermont flood, is that given by Daniel L. Cady in verse, the first stanza of which heads this chapter.

And Then the Deluge—The rain of the first night, Wednesday, November 2, was unwelcome but not feared. The wise merchant and householder, the next morning, found it advisable to move the more



AT THE RIALTO BRIDGE IN MONTPELIER

(Courtesy of "Telephone Topics.")

perishable of their belongings from cellar to first floor. Then came really "tropical downpours." Some of the papers issued a noon edition warning of the danger of impending flood. Schools were dismissed, and it was well, for more than one school building was carried off that day. A Brattleboro statistician figured that, in two days, 4,133,179,975 tons of water fell on the State; his estimate was based on an average of six inches, an amount which was exceeded by fifty per cent in many places. The impact of these billions of tons as concentrated by the narrow valleys began to rip out dams, bridges and roads and buildings. Before the flood had passed villages had become lakes, main streets were waterways, public utilities had failed, communications had been broken. Miles upon miles of railroad tracks were nothing but twisted metal and hanging ties. Trains were left stranded; it was months before traffic was restored completely on some lines, and this despite the marvelous celerity with which the railroad companies set about their task. "It was the worst disaster in railroad history," said one official.

Thousands of acres of rich farm land was either washed away or covered with infertile silt. There would be no crops on these for many years. Thousands of dairy cows and farm animals were drowned. And it was November with winter in the offing. Much of the best soil in the State was deposited in the dwellings, the public buildings, the stores. It was the slimiest, muddiest flood conceivable, and filtered into every place which water could penetrate. Men shoveled it out of the way as they did the snow of midwinter. Telephone lines were down; bit by bit each community was shut in on itself. There were no mails for days. Food and other supplies became shortened. In some localities there was a lack of gasoline for use in motor cars even had the roads been passable. In a night the clock of Vermont had been turned back more than half a century; things which had been accepted as ordinary conveniences of modern life had disappeared. No daily mail, no public water supply, no light to come at the turn of a switch, no gas for cooking, no turning to the telephone for word to the friend across the river, no railway service nor outside newspaper. It was a startling return to the pioneer days to realize that one must wait a week for a letter; that no visits could be made outside the village; that one could not get the usual foods, that there was no bread at the bakers' nor yeast cakes to make one's own supply. It was an exceedingly modern touch, that the immediate needs of many places were supplied by airplanes and that the radio should establish communications with the outside world. The break of contact was known as the "black

silence" and caused infinite worry to the millions who had no means of finding out what had happened within flood-stricken Vermont. The news sheets of the United States printed all sorts of wild rumors and horrible tales, to cover the complete lack of any information, creating anxiety and misery everywhere they were read. Great dams were mentioned as having gone out engulfing whole valleys and all who lived therein. Barre was supposedly sunken beneath a twelve-foot lake; "three hundred dead at Montpelier," only the mountains had remained in their places, and tremendous land slips were thought to have marred even these! The creation of radio-sending outfits, and the eventual placing of the truth before the waiting world, was a remarkable achievement.

Counting the Losses—As the truth became known, it was realized, to use the words of Governor Weeks: "The flood of November 3, 1927, was the greatest disaster in the history of our beautiful State." No authoritative statement of the number of the lives lost has yet been made. One, probably as accurate as is possible, places the drowned in the Winooski Valley at 55; in other sections, at 20 additional; deaths incident to the flood, 9; the total from all causes reaching 84. The official survey of the property losses in Vermont as reported to the Governor, included the following:

Agricultural losses, 690 farms		$1,350,156
Highways	$2,483,916	
Highway bridges, 1,258	4,579,082	7,062,998
Industrial losses, 125 establishments		5,558,800
Cities and villages, property losses		6,121,151
Twelve steam and electric railways		3,901,200
Vermont State Hospital, Waterbury		400,000
Telephone and Telegraph Companies		319,050
Gas Companies		30,400
Total property loss		$24,743,755

Later estimates considerably increase this amount. The best available information places the aggregate losses at approximately $30,000,000.

The American National Red Cross Society reported 41 Vermont towns as suffering damages, and the number of individuals meeting losses at 18,880. Three hundred buildings (of the larger sort), were destroyed and 1,247 were damaged.

The above table is palpably based on underestimates at a time when the tendency was to minimize the extent of the disaster. In actual practice, replacements have exceeded the estimate in all

cases. Then it is to be realized that the losses as given in the table are of the tangible, clearly evidenced losses and do not include a vast number of unreported and minor damages. There were others which individuals have repaired themselves without outside aid or consideration; and the very real, but unmentioned deprivation of revenue suffered by State and companies and people during the long period of rehabilitation. One of the railroads, which was opened to traffic twenty days after the flood, gave as the cost of rebuilding, $600,000; as the loss in revenue, "at least $315,000." Within a year two of the larger railroads combined have expended in restoration nearly as much as the estimated total for twelve, as given above. The farm losses are quite beside the mark and the highway department, which was more capable than any other agency in reckoning up its losses, found that they were far larger than supposed. Leaders in industry insist that the industrial losses, guessed at as little more than five and a half million dollars, should be rated at fifty per cent higher. Possibly a like statement could be made of other property damages. It would seem that the deluge cost the State nearer a forty million dollars, and if the intangible, but very real, losses were included, Vermont might better have parted with $100,000,000, aside from the question of the loss of human life, and had the flood pass her by. At the lowest estimate, every man, woman and child in the State, on the average, was one hundred dollars the worse off; at the highest figure the per capita loss was three times this amount.

The Flood in Eastern Vermont—It is manifestly impossible to enlarge upon the details of the flood damage in the various sections of the State within the limits of a chapter. A few of the highlights of the disaster may be touched upon, by grouping certain river valleys and indicating something of what happened in these parts. The Connecticut River, for example, is a boundary stream with such important tributaries flowing into it from Vermont as the White, Passumpsic, Quechee and the Black of Windsor County. The White River and its branches, reaching back into the central valleys to the Green Mountains, is not only large but it is one of the most ancient and most used modern routes of travel across the State. The highway system here is very elaborate and the Central Vermont Railway contributed to the congestion of the valley. Quite naturally, the most extensive damage, in the State, to the roads and their bridges was along the White River. In many parts of the upper stream and branches, every highway bridge was lost; landslides and

washouts broke the highway in a hundred places. A badly wrenched railroad bridge near Royalton, used for light vehicular traffic, was the one link remaining for many miles of the valley. The hydro-electric dams at Gaysville, Bethel, Sharon, and those on the White, Tweed and Third Branch either were carried away or put out of business, the dam at Hartford being the exception. The White River Railroad between Bethel and Rochester had its roadbed almost completely destroyed. The Central Vermont was left without a serviceable bridge for a distance of forty miles from Hartford to East Granville, and miles of track and embankment were completely swept away. Nine lives were lost in this area, and the property loss totalled millions of dollars.

To begin with the farthest point on the White River System, at Roxbury near the headwaters of the Third Branch, the damage began when the pools of the State Fish Hatchery overflowed, and the streams of the narrow valleys began to gather force. All the hamlets suffered. Reaching Randolph, the freshet broke the newly completed Morse Dam, replacing one destroyed by high water in 1925; the almost finished concrete bridge in the village, the wreckage of the two forcing the river against the Main Street embankment, a great section of which was undermined, with several buildings, and disappeared in the turbid flood. Randolph lost ten bridges and suffered a property loss of nearly $300,000. At Bethel, where the Third Branch joins the White River, the loss was double that of Randolph. The upper White River on its course to this point had ruined rural centers and farm lands, almost obliterating the charming village of Gaysville. A tiny plain and a tiny hamlet, shut in among the hills, was turned in a day to little more than a barren waste of jagged rocks. "There is absolutely not one foot of anything resembling soil, not a sign that any building had ever stood there, not a stone that looks like a foundation wall." Thirty buildings were destroyed, the bridge which connected two highways, and the railroad line. Gaysville, in proportion to its size, suffered more severely than any other village in the State.

From Bethel to White River Junction, there was a series of prosperous villages,—Royalton, Sharon, Hartford, and the Junction. At Royalton, three lives were lost and a half a million dollars' property loss. The South Royalton bridge was left standing alone on its abutments, for the river had cut a new channel around one end, 150 feet wide and 20 feet deep. The Sharon dam went out with a rush, and with it a quarter of the State road, and several homes. West Hartford was a village of one street; when the flood had



NEW ROAD PROBLEM BETWEEN WEST HARTFORD AND SHARON

(Courtesy of "Telephone Topics.")

passed, most of the street was gone, and half of the settlement had been carried off, the river occupying their sites. Hartford and White River Junction found themselves in or bordering a lake, there being two hundred buildings invaded by water and damaged by the filth and silt left by the passing waters. The million-dollar freight yards, a fill of the previous years, were softened and undermined. Both the Central Vermont and Boston & Maine railroads lost heavily.

Down the Connecticut surged the flood, augmented by the torrents from tributary streams. The safety of Bellows Falls with its important industries and railroads, was feared for. Here the Connecticut carries, normally, a volume of water in a narrow and rocky channel. A hydro development of large size was under construction. Unheard-of water levels were reached, so that the tunnel of the Boston & Maine Railroad under the business section of the village threatened to become a sluiceway which might destroy the most crowded and valued part of Bellows Falls. The village was fortunate in having time to prepare for the invasion of the flood, and losses were kept to a minimum. The Babbitt-Kelley paper mill was a total loss, involving a quarter of a million dollars; as much damage was done to other concerns. The New England Power Company was one of the principal losers. Farther south, about Brattleboro, there was comparatively little damage done.

Between White River Junction and Bellows Falls are a number of Vermont streams which enter the Connecticut, of which the more notable are the Quechee (Ottaquechee) and the Black, both of which contributed their share to the watery disaster. Bridgewater, near the headquarters of the Quechee, paid a toll of $100,000. Forty-two bridges were destroyed in this town alone. All of the several dams along the stream were more or less completely damaged. Windsor suffered a severe setback, when its chief industrial plant, the National Acme Company, employing 700 hands, was harmed to the extent of $500,000, and ceased operations for a long period. Ludlow, Proctorsville, Cavendish, and Springfield, are the chief settlements along the Black River. Ludlow and Proctorsville had their industrial concerns invaded by water and injured. Almost the same type of damage was done in Springfield, but on a larger scale. The Black River is of more than ordinary interest to many because it takes its rise near the birthplace of Calvin Coolidge, and where he was sworn in as President of these United States by his own father who was a justice of the peace. The summer visitor also recalls the valley of the Black for its beauty, lakes and Cavendish Gorge, a cut through solid rock from 25 to 100 feet deep. Eight thousand

people visited a spot on the Black River one Sunday afternoon, soon after the flood, to see a new marvel, perhaps the most remarkable created by the flood and one of its major calamities, the "Cavendish Chasm." Once, where the present town of Cavendish is located, was a great lake, a remnant of the Glacial Age. The outlet of this lake flowed where Main Street was established,—Cavendish Gorge being a much more recent (geologically speaking) affair. A dam was built above the gorge forming a pond off from the village, with a dike on one side to prevent any overflow from swinging down towards Main Street. The flood, recognizing no limitations, swept over and through the dike and dug out the ancient bed of the river. In doing so it created a canyon fifty to a hundred feet deep, one hundred to six hundred feet wide and nearly a half mile long, and did it in a night. It is estimated that 2,000,000 tons of earth were moved and much of it scattered over, and burying, some of the best farm lands of the lower valley. With the soil went seven houses besides ten barns, four garages, and a half mile of the State road. The gulch can never be filled, nor a road built. Cavendish Village must shift its situation.

The Passumpsic Area—From White River Junction north to East Barnet the Connecticut Valley proved fairly capable of handling the waters which poured through it, so that the damage done by the flood was comparatively small. Above East Barnet are many small streams which are bound in a single strand by the Passumpsic River, and this region did not fare so well. Some of these streams are small, ordinarily, but have their rise in those heights which divide the drainage of Northeastern Vermont, so that some of it flows north to the St. Lawrence, with the great part moving south through the Passumpsic to the Connecticut River. Five fairly large streams join forces near Lyndonville to form the Passumpsic. In the vicinity of St. Johnsbury three more streams enter the Passumpsic, and others do likewise before the fully grown river merges in the Connecticut below East Barnet.

There was but one life lost in the valley of the Passumpsic, and the immense property losses have been somewhat obscured by the greater ones of the Winooski area. The larger centers, such as St. Johnsbury and its neighboring villages, and those in Lyndon Township, bore the brunt of the losses, but there were few property owners in this section of Vermont who did not share the burden entailed by the flood. The hill town of Sheffield was lacking a dozen bridges and parts of the highway were so completely destroyed as

to require relocation, a condition true of many sections of the valley below. Sawmills were ruined in Sheffield, Wheelock, East and West Burke and elsewhere. At East Burke the Passumpsic River followed its old course in 1852, swept away the Darling sawmill, the disused Baptist chapel, several houses, and two miles further down the Darling electric light and power plant and the home of the caretaker. In a few hours a loss of over $100,000 was reported. When the waters receded there was a gulch sixteen feet deep and many rods wide in the heart of the village where once was the main street. The Lyndon meadows were turned into lakes, the Vail electric light plant was wrecked and the three villages in this town without any of the modern conveniences established martial law. The veteran railroad executive, Colonel H. E. Folsom, was asked a day or two after the flood how late the noon train was likely to be. Instantly came the reply, "Reported twenty minutes late out of Wells River." It was twenty days before the first train arrived at Lyndonville, and it had made very good time indeed.

The little village of St. Johnsbury Center had forty-seven houses on the street that parallels the river. Not a house escaped unscathed; several were completely destroyed and the Twin State Gas and Electric Company lost their power plant above the village as well as the one in this village. The total property damage here reached $200,000.

St. Johnsbury with its manufacturing plants on three rivers suffered as much from the upset of industrial conditions as it did from actual destruction of property. The water was six feet deep in the Fairbanks scale factory and flooded the gas plant and the three stations of the Twin State electric plant. The big water main from Stiles Pond broke where it crossed the Passumpsic River and drinking water was only obtainable from springs. The Avenue House Block is supplied by a never failing spring and for several days there was a pail brigade there carrying water to the homes of the village. The St. Johnsbury Gas Company was the first of the public utilities to restore service, while after three days the Twin State had a limited service over connections with their power plant on the Ammonusuc at Berlin, New Hampshire. Bearing along a constantly accumulating volume of wreckage, the Passumpsic swept the old covered bridge at Hastings Street off its moorings and it came down the swollen river like a great ship. When it struck the covered bridge at Arlington that, too, was ruthlessly destroyed. The only other bridge left was the Portland Street bridge and this was only saved by burn-

ing in a downpour of rain the Maine Central railroad bridge just above the iron bridge. To hasten the blaze in the rain the wooden railroad bridge was soaked with gasoline. Its necessary destruction also took away the last entrance left to the St. Johnsbury freight and passenger stations of the three railroads that had been serving this community.

At Passumpsic the Chase Fiber Company was completely destroyed and this mill has never been rebuilt. The company lost four buildings and a carload containing forty tons of their finished product. The highway bridge towards Waterford was swept away, and the Twin State power station collapsed with not much machinery saved, and two dwelling houses went down the river. The railroad station had its foundation knocked out, and the box car that was used as a temporary station while the new one was being constructed was tossed aside.

At East Barnet a million feet of lumber from Roy Brothers' mill was piled along the Waterford road, the Canadian Pacific tracks were destroyed for five hundred feet and the railroad station was so badly damaged that the company burned it to make way for a new one. At Barnet the hill above the railroad track was washed out by the brook to a depth of forty feet and many houses were flooded.

Flood Damage in Northern Vermont—The Missisquoi and the rivers entering Lake Memphremagog, the Barton and Black, are the drainage streams of Northern Vermont. The Missisquoi, the second longest of the Vermont rivers, wanders all over the map, even through Canada, from its farthermost source in the town of Lowell, before winding up its career in Missisquoi Bay near the International Line. It is a vastly moving group of streamlets until it emerges, at Richford, upon the fertile wide valley of Lake Champlain. There was the usual ripping, gouging destruction wrought in the narrow valleys of the upper river, and the disgorging of the débris and silt over the valuable lower, more level, lands. Two lives were known to be lost; cattle were slain by the hundreds, bridges and railways were wrecked. Troy was the second greatest loser in North Vermont. Barton, on the river of the same name, was the greatest loser, the damages being estimated at $450,000. For a time it seemed as though Barton must be completely wiped out, for beautiful Crystal Lake, which lies high above the village, was prevented from breaking its banks and engulfing all before it, by the determined work of men. Other groups of citizens prevented Willoughby, Caspian and Shadow lakes from breaking away, with sand



HIGH WATER AT SOUTH NEWBURY

(Courtesy of "Telephone Topics.")



MARTIAL LAW AT NORTHFIELD, NOVEMBER, 1927

(Courtesy of Walter and Jenks.)

bags and any other means at hand. The village was literally swamped out, but fortunately few buildings were completely wrecked. Orleans village was in even worse plight, for the river occupied the business center as well as flooding the home and industrial sections. That the village escaped destruction was due to its splendid concrete highway which carried off the waters. Newport, while beautifully, but dangerously, located on a bay of Lake Memphremagog, into which the Black, the Barton, and the Clyde rivers were pouring their torrents, escaped injury rather well, possibly because the lake happened to be lower than it had been for thirty years. Altogether the physical damage done in Orleans County was rated at three-quarters of a million dollars, one item being one hundred and thirty bridges which were swept away or badly damaged.

Valley of the Lamoille—The Lamoille River rises far to the east of the Green Mountains through which it breaks its way to discharge in Lake Champlain. It is known as the "Spunky Lamoille" and lived up to its name in the Great Flood. A dozen important settlements line its banks, there are numerous hamlets, a railroad winds through much of its valley, which also is the site of a principal highway. The rainfall during the early November days was possibly heavier in the larger part of the valley than elsewhere; the destructive forces of the flood were in proportion. The Hardwicks and associated villages, on the upper stream, suffered greatly, the river changing its course several times making great gulleys where buildings, industries and fine roads had been. The flood waters hit Morrisville, leaving the power plant and a house or two isolated upon a small island. Morristown, Hyde Park, Johnson, lost all their bridges. At the latter place, the whole Shangraw family, mother, father and daughter, lost their lives. One hundred and five out of one hundred and sixty-five of the stores and houses in Johnson were flooded. Cambridge was completely submerged except a few hill homes. Jefferson, Fairfax, Georgia and Milton were some of the other villages in the valley of the "Spunky Lamoille" which suffered.

The St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad supplies rail communication for the valley. After the flood it was chopped up or buried under mud and débris over much of its length. There had been one hundred and sixty washouts, twelve bridges and six culverts had been swept away, and twenty-four landslides added to the confusion. As one has described it, the railroad was "like an angleworm, chopped in two in the middle and crushed at both ends. But

like a dismembered worm, it was able to wriggle, for, luckily, none of its locomotives were damaged." On December 28, 1872, the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain had been first opened to traffic amid great celebrations. More than half a century later, to be exact, on Christmas Day of 1927, the running of the first train over the road since the flood was again celebrated as a great event, a genuine cause for rejoicing. The Lake road had spent a quarter of a million dollars to accomplish this new feat, and was to spend another like amount before the reconstruction work was completed. It is to be regretted that the story of disasters must be told in terms of dollars and cents, in statistics of lives and property losses. The things endured, the courage displayed, the long period of labor and grind under the most disheartening circumstances during rehabilitation, these are the vital important elements in the story of the flood.

Otter Creek and Southwestern Vermont—Leaving the Winooski Valley for later mention let us pass to one of the widest populated and one of the best-known regions of Vermont, the Otter Creek Valley and country around Bennington. Beautiful, historic, land of Indian trail and mountain highways, of crystal lakes and power-giving streams, of fertile farms, varied industries, of long-held estates and popular vacation resorts, and all this was disrupted, marred and demoralized by a forty hours' rain. Otter Creek is really a very lengthy river, draining more of the territory west of the Green Mountains than any other stream. Its headwaters are in the hills, and before reaching the broad valley of Lake Champlain, and often in the lower levels, the Otter breaks into many rapids and waterfalls. Since the days of the pioneers these water powers have been harnessed in increasing numbers, or forced to do greater service. In few parts of the State was the possible damage and loss of life so great from the going out of dams.

Rutland was in terror lest the Chittenden dam with its huge reservoirs should break, or the East Pittsford dam, closer to the city, should give way. Chittenden proved the advantages of such reservoirs for the control of flood conditions, for it was barely filled by the unprecedented rainfall. The East Pittsford dam held, although its embankment threatened to sluice out, but remained intact when practically every able-bodied citizen of the village turned in and worked to save it. The Glen dam did go out and almost took Patch's dam in the city with it, in the rush of its loosened waters; the Vermont Hydro-Electric Company was the chief loser. All the other larger and modern dams held.

The city of Rutland experienced the worst disaster in its history, and was fortunate in not suffering more. A hundred families were driven from their homes, public utilities were almost completely cut off for a time. Five lost their lives; the property damage was estimated at nearly $2,000,000, and the disruption of the industrial and business activities added to this total. Manufacturing plants all along the Otter were demoralized by the loss of power or flooding, or the sweeping away of essential parts and buildings. In the Clarendons and Wallingfords property losses ran very high. At Proctor there were a hundred refugees to be cared for, and there was a washout on Powers Hill a hundred feet deep. Addison County, second to Rutland, was the worst injured, and Bristol suffered more than any other town in the county. As the flood sped on into the lower valley its force was dissipated, the towns coming through almost unharmed.

The Rutland Railroad lost 269 miles of its 413 of track; there were 365 washouts along the whole line. The havoc done was estimated at $600,000, with an additional loss of revenue amounting to half that sum. And by strenuous efforts traffic was resumed in less than three weeks. In Bennington, Woodford, and Manchester in Southwestern Vermont, the flood damage was chiefly to the highways. At Bennington, Andrew Sheppard lost his life and the property loss was rated at half a million dollars.

When the Winooski Ran Wild—When all the tales of the great flood have been told, the lives lost counted and the property damages estimated, the Winooski Valley will stand out as the scene of the greater share of all these. Fifty lives were snuffed out, more than half of those taken in all New England. Half of the $30,000,000 physical losses occurred along the Winooski, and $25,000,000, so it is thought, will hardly cover the sum expended for rehabilitation in this one valley. The Winooski rises east of the main range of the Green Mountains and exits in Lake Champlain above Burlington. The upper river is much divided, the branches gathering up practically all the rainfall on the larger share of Calais, Woodbury, Plainfield, Marshfield, Cabot, Barre and small parts of several other towns, and rushes them together near Montpelier. The Worcester Branch empties into the Winooski in the heart of the business section of that city, and the Worcester, or North Branch, drains the east slope of the so-called Worcester range. Below the capital several good-sized tributaries add to the volume of the Winooski before it reaches Richmond, where the valley begins to spread and become capable

of taking care of excess flow. Much of the upper valley has numerous well-populated centers situated on levels easily reached by high water, which is one of the reasons why it suffered so greatly. Then, it is supposed, the center of the storm hovered over this region and the rainfall averaged higher than elsewhere. On the opposite side of the balance sheet may be placed the fact that there were storage basins, such as that of Molly's Falls at Cabot, which held all that the Winooski poured into them and held it safe until the flood had passed.

It may be taken for granted that the experience of other parts of Vermont in having railroads, both steam and electric, disrupted, highways broken or rendered impassable, telephone and telegraph wires downed, public utilities put out of business, industries ruined or shut down, all had their counterparts in the valley of the Winooski. The State's estimate places the damage done to the bridges of the Winooski at $836,487, more than in any other area, and nearly a fifth of the whole. It seems to be the particular pleasure of the upper branches of the river to contribute a full quota of these bridges. While this does not comprise all, or even the major harm done by the flood to the rural centers, it indicates something of the torrential volume of these streams before they began their depredations in the more populous places.

The Stevens Branch, and its feeder, Jail Branch, were furies before their combined energies raged through Barre. Potash Brook joins the Stevens in the city, as does Gunner Brook after running through a thickly settled part of Barre. This "Granite Center of the World" is located in a valley which is a natural catch basin of a large area.

The augmented streams within twenty-four hours had flooded two-thirds of the business streets of the city; the valley of Barre was a lake from the Aldrich Building near the south end of Main Street to the northernmost limits of the municipality. The river cut around a dam above the center of the city and regained its ancient channel to the destruction of all in its path.

The rising waters sent merchants and business men hurrying to save what they could from their buildings, and casualties began to multiply. Four young men were helping take stock from a basement of a store, when the wall caved in, and two, Gerald Brock and Ralph Winter, were drowned. Four children were being rescued in a boat when it was upset by the swift current, and all were lost. Lieutenant-Governor S. Hollister Jackson was trying to reach his

home on Thursday evening. Potash Brook, usually an insignificant stream, had plowed its way across Nelson Street, and the car in which Mr. Jackson was driving became stalled at the edge of this new-made gully. He stepped out in the hurrying stream, never realizing its treacherous depth, lost his footing, . . . his body was found the next day in Potash Brook a mile from where he had stepped from his car.

The property loss in Barre, not including those of public utility companies, is placed at $1,238,000. With the exception of Montpelier this was probably the largest sustained by any community in the State. Considering the size of the communities, however, the loss was heavier in the smaller villages of Gaysville and the towns of Johnson, Cavendish and Waterbury. In loss of income from suspended industry and business, Barre exceeded that of any other place, for its granite works were idle for nearly six weeks. In many respects the city recovered quickly; as soon as the task which must be done in reconstruction was realized, the work was promptly begun and done. However great the destruction in property, the loss of life, seven persons in all, and the possible value to the State of at least one of these persons, was felt by the citizens of Barre to overbalance, outweigh, all other losses.

Montpelier—The Winooski, after taking toll in a half-dozen towns, entered Montpelier with appetite unappeased. The North Branch destroyed five sawmills, took twenty-seven out of thirty bridges in Worcester, dug out fourteen bodies from a cemetery, and reached Montpelier ready to do its worst. About 4 o'clock Thursday afternoon, November 3, the two streams met and overflowed their banks; within two hours, shoppers, merchants, business men, or any others, who were within buildings in the central part of the city, were cut off from any chance of returning home. At times the water rose at the rate of three feet an hour; at its height it stood twelve feet above the sidewalks of Main and State streets. The marooned moved from floor to floor to escape the rising flood, which entered many a second story. Some were rescued by boats, some were held prisoners until Saturday morning, when the water had left the streets. A former mayor fought an all-night battle with death as, on a top shelf, cramped and weak, he kept his head against the ceiling of his workshop, inches above the flood, all through the long night. With the coming of light neighbors saw him and rescued him with a rope of twisted blankets. In the First National Bank, the janitor, with his feet on the top of the grill and his fingers

gripping the picture moulding for many hours, maintained his position above eight feet of water in the counting room, until a motor boat passed down the street and took him aboard. There were many narrow escapes, only one life being lost in Montpelier.

Friday disclosed the city as a fringe of houses edging a lake; on Saturday the lake had disappeared and men began to reckon the amount of damage done. Every store in the main business district was seriously harmed, only a few grocery stores on the side streets of the higher levels could open. All public utilities were disrupted, communications with the outside world had been broken. Ten of the fifteen bridges of Montpelier were gone or badly weakened; one large steel affair paid a flood visit to Attorney Fred E. Gleason, but without doing any great harm to his home. There was only enough food in the city for a few days' supply; to conserve this the Red Cross requisitioned it all and issued it on ticket to householders. The Red Cross Society expended $170,000 in relief work within the municipality.

It has been estimated that the flood cost the people of Montpelier more than $3,000,000, but the total losses will never be known. Endless details of the damage done might be given, and still fail to arrive at the complete truth. Here, as elsewhere, the filthy mud and silt was left wherever the water had reached. The average cost of removing this mud was about one hundred dollars per cellar or room. It ruined everything upon which it settled. Merchants' stock was seldom worth the cost of reclamation. An incidental feature was the wreckage of practically all the plate glass and other windows in the business district; it was December before a new supply could be secured and put in place. Details like these may enable one to glimpse something of the situation in general, but the imagination cannot realize what it means to have so large and important a section of a city submerged beneath water and mud. Taking three million, three hundred thousand dollars as the property loss, it will be found to average nearly four hundred dollars for every resident in Montpelier, even including the babe who was born when the water was at its height. This, reckons one, would mean that if such a devastation should hit New York City, and the per capita loss was equal, it would total over two billion, four hundred million dollars.

In the Valleys West of the Capital City—The Dog River flows into the Winooski just below Montpelier. Northfield, the chief village of this valley, had from twelve to fifteen feet of water in some of its streets. More than a hundred dwellings were more or less sub-

merged. One of the several bridges washed away had stood firm for three-quarters of a century. Nearly every industrial concern along the Dog River suffered partial to complete damages. Northfield was in such a plight that martial law was declared in force on Friday morning. The flood cost the village $300,000 or more. At Middlesex, the Winooski refused to keep in its crooked channel and cut across the village, to the destruction of such houses as stood in its new path. The Mad River, just below, was mad indeed, and Moretown, which fronts on the Winooski for eight miles, and the Mad for seven, lost five lives, thirty-eight bridges, and several hundred thousand dollars in property damage. Duxbury has a peculiarly exposed situation on the Winooski, and paid dearly for it. Five more lives were snuffed out here, and there is reason to wonder why there were not more. At Bolton Falls, one of the beauty spots of Vermont, the waters backed up to form a lake which found an exit by way of the railroad cut. Before the torrent pouring through this self-made spillway ceased its work, there was a new gorge where the railway embankment had been.

Waterbury—Surrounded by hills, in a curve of the Winooski, Waterbury, in area under water, in property losses, suffered more in proportion than any Vermont town. Twenty perished within a radius of a half mile; a like number of houses were borne off by the flood; three hundred families were driven from their homes; casket boxes were fastened together and lives saved by using these boxes as rafts. The river rose eighteen feet above any known previous level, and for a short cut swept through Main Street. A mere tongue of land was the only part of the village which remained above water at its highest point, and this only by two or three feet. One-sixth of the money spent by the Red Cross in Vermont, up to the end of the year, was expended in Waterbury. The total flood damage was placed at $2,000,000.

The Vermont State Hospital for the Insane is located at Waterbury, and upon low ground. There were 872 patients, and 190 of the staff and employees upon the grounds when the deluge came. The water entered the tunnel carrying the heat and light conduits so that light and heat were cut off. The rising tides necessitated the moving of patients to the upper floors—the water eventually stood three feet in the second-story rooms. The removal was carried through efficiently, but there was no food except eight cans of milk, saved by chance, to feed more than one thousand people. A stranded milk train was raided for a further supply and boats and rafts gath-

ered to transport it. Aid came from the outside, and the very trying situation was beautifully handled under the direction of Dr. E. A. Stanley, the superintendent. But one life was lost at the hospital during this period, and that the result of heart failure. The property loss at the asylum was $400,000, and included the destruction of a very carefully bred herd of Holstein-Friesian cattle.

Flood Tides of the Lower Winooski—At Bolton the river breaks through the mountains. The pass is narrow, but wide enough, apparently, to accommodate roads and railroads, village and river. The Winooski had been acquiring bulk and power when it plunged through this section and acted with such speed as to produce a most appalling loss of life; twenty-six persons were swept to their death within a few hours. John May, his wife and four children, caught in their house as it plunged down Joiner Brook, had time to cry a "Good-bye" to a friend whose house still held its place before it was demolished, and all were killed. At the same culvert where the May house was crushed, the Fortune homestead crashed, and with it perished Miss Maude Lovell and Mr. Fortune's two young daughters. A short distance away, Mr. and Mrs. Houseman were drowned. Even closer by was the Hayes boarding house, in which were twenty men, workmen of the new concrete highway which was then under construction. The building disappeared into the night, and only one person is known to have escaped of those who were within it as the deluge seized it.

The principal industry, the Lane Plant, of Jonesville, was almost wiped out. Wreckage piled up beneath the long bridge of Richmond village and lifted it off to deposit it well down stream. The losses of the town of Richmond were about a quarter of a million dollars. The river valley was now becoming wider and even the tremendous volume of the flood did little damage to the straighter stretches. Then it was confined to the narrow rocky gorge at Winooski, where it rushed over the top of the Burlington Light and Power Company's station, or more than thirty feet above the crest of the dam. The power house stood unmoved, but iron bridges were sheered off and moved great distances, and the great American Woolen plant with others in the vicinity were damaged to the extent of a million dollars. Burlington opposite received little direct injury. A pontoon bridge shipped from Washington, District of Columbia, formed the only connection, for some time, between the twin cities. After spewing some of its load of débris over the intervale lands the Winooski lost itself in Lake Champlain.

A whole chapter might be devoted to the humorous side of the great tragedy and the stories that grew out of the catastrophe, but this will suffice. In one clergyman's home which had been sadly devastated his little daughter asked the privilege of reading from the Bible at morning prayers. This was granted, and opening the Divine Word she read with great solemnity, "Tain't goin' to rain no more," and then closed the Book.



CHAPTER XII

HOW VERMONT CAME BACK

Fer the job hez ben tre-menjus,
Yes, sir—Yes, sir-ee!
But, f'r them, not tew stupenjus,
No, sir—No, sir-ee!
Fer they tackled plain stark ruin,
Just a few short months ergo,
An' there's shore ben sunthin' dewin'
Ev'ry day in rain er snow—
An' right in th' dead o' winter,—
Haow they done it,—I dunno.

—L. C. ROGERS.

A brief and barren narrative this has been of the greatest disaster that ever came to Vermont. It is incomplete—even a work of several volumes could not recount the whole story. There are tales of heroism, of wonderful endurance, of grim humor, enough to fill a book. A more detailed accounting should be made of minor and major losses in the State, of losses tangible and intangible. Colonel George Harvey said that it would take Vermont a quarter of a century to recover fully from this single blow. These and many other things in connection with the history of the Great Flood are worthy of the study and the pen of some gifted writer. Chapters of this writer's future work would tell of "the wonderful outpouring of sympathy and helpfulness that came immediately from the outside to the moral and physical aid of the stricken and the suffering. How this was organized and made effective through the agency of the American Red Cross and in other ways; how our Vermont President, deeply concerned, sent Secretary Hoover and other officials into the State to make an early investigation of conditions and recommendations for relief; how the financial interests of New England enlisted themselves to extend aid on easy terms and long credit; how the Red Cross came in and not only relieved those in immediate need, but promptly restored such physical losses as were necessary to enable individuals to live comfortably; how, under the wise and able leadership of Governor John E. Weeks, the Vermont Legislature took the necessary action looking toward the reconstruction of all the State property lost or damaged; how in the

hour of adversity and the dark days which followed, our brave Vermont people retained their fortitude, their loyalty, and their determination to carry on and come back."—Luther B. Johnson, in the Randolph "Herald and News."

Emergency Relief Work—Saturday morning, November 5, marked the passing of the flood. As the waters receded stark ruin was disclosed. What brought this home to so many was not simply the immense amount of destruction which was visible everywhere, but the heartbreaking condition of what was left. Slimy, filthy mud everywhere; furniture, personal possessions, the comforts of life, all either vanished or broken and mixed, as in some giant mixing bowl, into a conglomerate mess of everything conceivable, often giving out a stench which smelled to high heaven. There were the great disasters, of course, but the greatest testing of the metal of Vermonters came through the trouble which was called "minor"; and it was in this as in the larger affairs that Vermonters showed themselves at their best. The immediate requirements of relief had been met even earlier, for all through the night boats, rafts, coffin boxes, and what not, had been requisitioned for rescue work, and hundreds had been rescued from their perilous positions and carried safely to the higher situations. The need for food and clothes had been recognized immediately, and the people of every locality had combined forces to see that none should go hungry or lack the wherewithal to cover their nakedness or to keep them warm. It was not from the outside, but from within, that the efforts came which eventuated in the mass feeding of the people—where needed—the taking over of the provisions to be found in the immediate vicinity. The local merchants did their part and, fortunately, canned goods could not be harmed by water or filth. Vermont had been supplying the outside world with dairy products and so was more than capable of looking after itself in dairy products. The churches were more often the food centers, even as they had been the refugee headquarters. No one will ever know the thousands of meals which were provided in the first days after the flood. This community feeding, in some places, was continued until after Thanksgiving Day, although long before this time the Red Cross was on the field and had taken over the direction of relief measures.

The emergency relief work was begun by local organizations, of which the Red Cross was, naturally, the most prominent. There was the possibility of injuries, disease and even an epidemic, so emergency hospitals were established all over the State. When com-

munications with the outside world had been reëstablished, a corps of doctors and nurses arrived to assist. Bulletins were issued giving instructions and information, compulsory inoculation against typhoid was announced, protective measures of all kinds were put in force. There was pure water to be provided, sewage lines were broken or clogged in many towns, toilet facilities were set back to the olden days when the larger settlements were few. The relief work changed with the day. One of the immediate problems was the prevention of looting. Martial law was set up in more than one town.

Relief Agencies—Every local organization, fitted for such work, was enlisted in the concerted effort to give aid wherever aid was required. The less injured places sent help to those where the destruction had been greater. The societies of veterans of the late war swung back into harness. Militia companies reported for duty in their various towns and rendered all manner of service. Where there were no National Guard, such as between Burlington and St. Johnsbury, and Burlington and Montpelier, regular army details were sent. So valuable were the services of the militia that they were made the subject of a special report by Major C. C. Hammond, which report was transmitted to the Governor and made a "matter of record," which is one way much appreciated by military men, of receiving military honors. "The work of the cadets of Norwich University, on the night of the flood, would make a story of heroism and effort that would emblazon the pages of any history. Later with shovel and mop, they assisted in making the homes of Northfield again fit to live in."—General Johnson. A student army of students from the University of Vermont spent three days in Waterbury and the vicinity giving "their whole and undivided attention to cellars." Shortly after their departure, a contingent of one hundred and fifty boys arrived from Middlebury College, "who carried on the efficient work begun." It was a nauseous job these boys undertook, and a back-breaking one, this carrying out of tons of mud in baskets up narrow cellar steps, but the one most needed at that time. This was only one of the numerous activities in which the student armies were engaged. Nor must it go unmentioned that Dartmouth College of Hanover, New Hampshire, also added to their contingents, and every academy and high school did what they could, which was very much.

The Red Cross—It was the Red Cross which took over the relief measures and assumed the financial responsibility in most localities.

National representatives were sent to the field and further organized the emergency relief work, and instituted measures for the bringing in of great quantities of needed supplies. This done, plans were laid for the permanent rehabilitation of the sufferers from the flood. It entailed an immense amount of investigation of the losses and needs of families, the awarding of what was required, the most needy being supplied first. This and other work progressed rapidly, but winter was at hand, a winter of unparalleled hardship, and the Red Cross was busy well on into the spring of the following year. Need, not loss, was the basis of awards, and the things needed were given, and not cash. And all help of every sort was a pure gift and not in any sense a loan. A great fund was necessary to carry on this work; mention has been made of the results of the preliminary survey of the society by which it was ascertained that forty-one towns had suffered losses, and 18,880 individuals, that 300 larger buildings had been destroyed and 1,247 others damaged. A million dollars was made available for use by the society in less than three months, a third of this being contributed within the State, a third —actually more than a third—came from outside, and the American Red Cross Society added $300,000 from its treasury. The work of the society still continues indirectly, so that no statement can be made of the total amount of its expenditures in Vermont. It may be pointed out that in Waterbury, up to May 18, 1928, the American Red Cross had allotted to flood sufferers $141,794.13—and while this is probably the largest sum allotted to any one section, it is, after all, only one item out of many. Up to February 1, 1928, persons in the flood area to the number of 14,510 had been rehabilitated.

State Rehabilitation Measures—In writing of the Red Cross work we have gotten somewhat ahead of the story. The unwinding of red tape usually precedes and delays all official actions; Vermont and its officials did not hesitate to cut the tape. The State Highway Board was marooned at Montpelier by the flood. It immediately laid plans to make a survey of highways and bridge damage throughout the State; authorized district commissioners to give every assistance in temporary restoration work, and the district supervisors were summoned to report and confer at Montpelier. The conference was held on the tenth of November. It was realized, as far as the Highway Board was concerned, that transportation reconstruction must precede permanent relief and rehabilitation measures. Once the "black silence" was broken and the country could speak with Vermont, proffers of aid poured in from every quarter. The prob-



THE CANADIAN PACIFIC'S ROLLER COASTER ROAD AT LYNDON AFTER THE FLOOD
(Courtesy of Walter and Jenks.)



THE ALOUETTE CROSSING THE SAME SPOT ONLY 20 DAYS AFTER
(Courtesy of Walter and Jenks.)

lems of the flood disaster were realized by the officials of the State as something beyond solution by their experience. Governor Weeks made a direct appeal to President Coolidge to send the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, to look over the situation and advise as to what should be done. Within two weeks Mr. Hoover had visited all the scenes of the greatest devastation in the State. On November 16, he conferred with a group of Vermonters, which included Governor Weeks, Assistant Secretary of Labor Walter W. Husband, Attorney-General J. G. Sargent, Senators Frank L. Greene and Porter H. Dale, Representatives E. S. Brigham and E. W. Gibson, James L. Fieser of the American Red Cross, and representatives of the State Board of Health, the United States Army and the railroads.

Mr. Hoover, after consideration of all the data secured by himself and the reports laid before him, advised: 1. "The American Red Cross should at once announce its acceptance of the full responsibility toward all those who cannot otherwise provide for themselves." 2. "That the New England Bankers' Association or the New England Council be requested to assume the responsibility for organizing such measures as will assure credits to the worthy industrial and commercial establishments which may be embarrassed by the flood." Perhaps not the least of all the benefits derived from Mr. Hoover's visit was the slogan that he unwittingly gave the people of the State, "Vermont at its worst, Vermonters at their best."

As has been pointed out, the Red Cross carried out exceedingly well the first suggestion. Out of the second suggestion grew the Vermont Flood Credit Corporation whereby the banks of New England pledged capital stock to the amount of $1,000,000 to guarantee loans at a low rate and for long periods, if needed, to be made by banking institutions to industries, merchants and farmers, who required financial aid to revive and continue their business disrupted by the flood. The corporation was designed to be non-profit making. Frank C. Partridge, of Proctor, was named president; H. C. Comings, of Richford, vice-president; W. W. Russell, of Montpelier, treasurer; George B. Young, of Montpelier, clerk. The banks of Vermont subscribed for nearly a third of the capital stock.

At the annual meeting of the corporation, March 26, 1928, the above officers were reëlected, except that Henry L. Farwell, of Montpelier, succeeds W. W. Russell, deceased, as treasurer.

The loans made by the Vermont Flood Credit Corporation have so far been taken care of in a very businesslike way, President Frank C. Partridge reported to the stockholders at their annual meeting.

The expenses have been very small, the total to date being only $1,000.13. The funds of the corporation continued to be deposited in Vermont banks at four or four and a half per cent interest, such interest already credited being $2,387.84 in excess of expense.

The corporation has executed guarantees for thirty-seven different loans, aggregating $268,270, of which twenty-three were in Washington County, five each in Franklin and Lamoille counties, two in Windsor County, and one each in Addison and Orleans counties. Fifteen loans were made to merchants, six to industries, six to farmers, the others to miscellaneous lines of business. The farmers have availed themselves very little of the facilities afforded by the Flood Credit Corporation. "It is to be borne in mind that our farmers are for the most part small operators," the report of President Partridge reads. "Their cases apparently were for the Red Cross and not for us."

Railroad Construction—A chapter might be given to the restoration of the telegraph and telephone lines. The utter break of communications between Vermont and the outside world was appalling in its completeness. There could be neither knowledge of the extent of the catastrophe, nor of intelligent giving of aid to the desolated region. Practically every telephone line in the State was "out" by Friday, except those to White River Junction and to Bennington. It means little to record that four hundred and fifty toll circuits were broken by the flood, and hardly more to say that inside of one week every telephone office in Vermont had been reconnected by toll circuits. Only those on the spot realized what this meant in reassurance, and as a means of quick communication. The telegraph service, in many stretches, was superimposed upon the telephone lines. The reorganization of the mail deliveries was directed by telephone. The job of complete telephone reconstruction cost nearly a half million dollars. How the mails were reëstablished after the flood with promptitude and efficiency, by any and every means and agency, must be left for some other to record.

The Rutland and Smaller Roads—The railroads were the keys to the larger transportation problems, and never in the history of railroading had such a disaster hit this industry. Some roads, such as the Rutland, recovered in twenty days, not because of an escape from injury, but because of the feverish and indomitable energy with which the work of rehabilitation was attacked. Two hundred and sixty-nine miles out of four hundred and thirteen of the Rutland's trackage had been rendered useless; there was a break for each day

of the year. One washout at East Clarendon required the construction of four hundred and twenty-five feet of track over a hole seventy feet deep; on the Winooski the loss of a bridge required the erection of a four hundred and fifty-foot trestle. The flood loss of the Rutland was nearly three-quarters of a million dollars.

The Montpelier & Wells River Railroad, a comparatively short line, was damaged over nearly all its length. The yards at Montpelier and Barre were almost destroyed; connections with other lines at Wells River were broken by a bad washout and a landslide. And this was the avenue of communication between the capital and the world, the way by which the food, fuel, building material and other supplies must come to the stricken city. By superhuman efforts connections were established between Barre and Montpelier on November 14, and with Wells River by November 15; one month after the deluge, the road was in full operation and carrying more than normal freight traffic. One of the unique features of the road's reconstruction was the diversion of the Wells River, below South Ryegate, to eliminate the immediate rebuilding of two expensive bridges. The flood added more than one-quarter of a million dollars to the loss account of the Montpelier & Wells River Railroad.

The St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad—Mention has been made elsewhere of the rejoicing along the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain, on Christmas Day, after the flood, when the first train on the partly reconstructed road rolled into Morrisville. Something also is written of the completeness with which the road had been put out of the running. The Lake Road is something of a Vermont institution and it was Vermonters, with the aid of a $300,000 loan by the Legislature, who so promptly put it back into running order. Within three months the amount of the loan had been spent in rebuilding, and plans were under way which were to take another half that sum.

President Beattie, of the Canadian Pacific, was in Boston when the deluge broke. He had agreed to remain over there to make a speech on the condition that he could leave early enough to get to Montreal that night. He left as per schedule, but got only as far as Woodsville, New Hampshire, opposite Wells River. By hand car, by jitney, by tramping over such places in his road as were left, and the highways, he eventually reached home. He wrote, later: "If I had not been there and had not seen but only knew of the results of the flood, I would not have believed that so much loss could have been occasioned within such a short space of time." The

loss to the Canadian Pacific, on its trackage from Richford, Province of Quebec, to Wells River in Northeastern Vermont, was about a million dollars, and this did not include damage done in the Eastern townships, which tied up traffic there for more than a month. "The total track actually damaged on each division was as follows: Lyndonville, 25 miles; Drummondville, one mile at 25 locations; Orford, two miles at 45 locations; Newport, two and one-fourth miles at 35 locations; Sherbrooke, one-fourth mile at 8 locations." The "Spirit of the Canadian Pacific" in its vigorous comeback and quick resumption of business won the highest appreciation of the communities along its line.

Boston & Maine—On the Connecticut River, the Boston & Maine was compelled to pay a heavy toll, and in several New England States its losses were very heavy. In all, an aggregate of 946 miles, or almost half its total trackage was either under water or affected by landslide or washouts. A total of sixty-three bridges and culverts were damaged or destroyed; more than a hundred places were points of major injuries. The financial loss from flood damage alone amounted to more than two and a half million dollars. As showing something of what such destruction means to a railroad, an itemized list showed that the repairing of the losses included 1,000,000 man hours of labor, 950,000 feet of lumber, 100,000 cross ties, 62,500 meals, 50,000 feet of piles, 18,000 truck hours, 15,000 days per diem, 7,000 carloads of gravel, cinders, etc.; 2,500 carloads of stone, 600 feet of culvert pipe, besides the expense of permanent restoration of bridges, building, water stations, signals, etc., and also the additional ballasting, surfacing and miscellaneous expenses which cannot be put in definite terms. The manner in which the Boston & Maine organization met and mastered the problems of reconstruction won the whole-hearted admiration of all New England.

The Central Vermont—The Central Vermont was the greatest sufferer among the railroads. Those who should know claim that in the history of railroading, no line of equal length was ever so devastated by the forces of nature. Between Burlington and White River Junction, wherein lie three-quarters of the road's mileage in Vermont, more than three million dollars' worth of damage was done. The trackage through the Winooski Valley was almost completely wiped out. For a time, it was believed that the railroad would never be rebuilt; or if reconstruction was attempted the work would continue over a lengthy period. The task of rehabilitation was a gigantic one, but on February 4, 1928, after three months

of unremitting effort, the line affected by the flood was reopened to traffic. The Central Vermont is a subsidiary of the Canadian National Railways, and the first move of the holding company was to petition the Central Vermont into a receivership, so that the Canadian National might be protected in the matter of funds and equipment which it was ready to invest in the rehabilitation of the disrupted Vermont line. This was a move necessary and to which there could be few reasonable objections; it made possible the early restoration of the road.

If recourse must again be made to statistics to place the picture of the rebuilding of a railroad before the mind's eye, one must quote figures given by the Central Vermont Railroad: The number of miles of track destroyed by flood was 253; number of bridges carried away or destroyed, 54; material required to restore the damaged roadbed, 1,296,000 cubic yards. The force and equipment employed on reconstruction work were: 2,500 laborers, 150 bridge men, 150 other skilled men, 6 steam shovels, 2 gasoline shovels, 400 ballast cars, 150 boarding cars, 25 work trains, 50 auto trucks and a like number of teams, and so on down the line and list. But these items mean little to other than railroad men. The financier realizes somewhat better what was done when the cost of this work, estimated at first at $2,600,000, but which proved to exceed this amount, and takes into consideration that the loss of revenue during the reconstruction period adds another pretty large penny to the total losses. The receptions and celebrations held in the towns and cities along the line, when the first train went through bearing upon it Governor John E. Weeks and Sir Henry Thornton, president of the Canadian National Railways, showed appreciation of the remarkable feat of engineering which had been accomplished, and gratitude to the system for assistance given to the flood devastated districts. At Montpelier a special ceremony was held at the State House at which Governor Weeks thanked Sir Henry Thornton and the Canadian National on behalf of the people of the State. Sir Henry, in reply, paid tribute to the people of Vermont for "their courageous spirit in coping with flood conditions." The days of the reëstablishment of transportation systems were indeed ones of heartfelt congratulation and rejoicing. A year later, although reconstruction was still going on, the story of how the railroad came back was an old one, almost forgotten except as a job well done.

To put in tabular form estimates of the losses sustained from flood damages, the following is taken from a report of the American Railway Engineering Association:

Railroad		Damage
Central Vermont		
Property	$2,750,000	
Economic	1,750,000	$4,500,000
Boston & Maine		
Property	750,000	
Economic	650,000	1,400,000
Canadian Pacific		696,000
Rutland		
Property	750,000	
Economic	285,000	1,035,000
Delaware & Hudson		220,000
St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain		
Property	491,000	
Revenue	46,000	537,000
Montpelier & Wells River		190,000
Total		$8,578,000

These totals are lower than the actual losses as disclosed by the expenditures during the first year of rehabilitation. They do not include the damages of the smaller railroads, such as the White River Company. This road of 19.34 miles from Bethel to Rochester, representing an investment of $677,622 had nearly all its trackage washed out.

Highway Restoration—It was not so easy to forget the reëstablishment of the highways, for while an amazing amount of restoration had been done in 1928 there was still much to be done, and the scars of the flood were everywhere to be seen. It was somewhat of a novel experience to tour a former well-known road and round some curve to meet a sign routing one in another direction, while straight ahead was a ridged chasm with the ends of an old highway ending in mid air. When a State with as many streams as Vermont loses most of its bridges, however quickly temporary structures are built, it is a long time before all signs of their loss are obliterated. In round figures, fourteen hundred bridges were destroyed or damaged—the official early estimate of 1,258 proved too low—more than $4,000,000 is being expended in new bridges, and $3,000,000 will about replace the injured roads. And one must not forget that the regular highway program of Vermont, an ambitious one, had to be carried out in addition to that of restoration.

The work of reconstruction began even before the flood waters had completely disappeared. Urban and rural communities began their activities without waiting for any assurance of reimbursement. The Highway Board, marooned at Montpelier during the deluge, sent out authorizations to the district commissioners in the State to give every assistance possible. Before the end of the year, $1,000,000 had been expended by the towns, and by that time the major part of the highways had been made passable, and permanent works had been started. It was realized, of course, that the towns, unaided, could not cope with the situation, and the State officials hastened to provide for the great task confronting Vermont. The Legislature, in special session on November 30, voted a bond issue of $8,500,000, placing the proceeds "in the hands of the Governor and the Emergency Board to expend for the restoration of the highways and bridges and for repairs to other State property." The J. P. Morgan Company took the initial offering of $5,000,000 at a low rate of interest and without charging the usual commission. The Federal Congress appropriated $2,654,000 for highways in Vermont, and this to be used without restriction to the Federal Aid System, although with the stipulation that approval of expenditure must be given by the Bureau of Public Roads. The latter-mentioned bureau also sent a large number of engineers to assist in the planning of reconstruction work.

By midsummer, 1928, construction and reconstruction activities were under way involving the whole of the first $5,000,000. Up to August 1, there had been constructed or contracted for, under the regular program, about 39.5 miles of road and four bridges, and as flood relief, about 25 miles of road and 170 bridges. In addition a large amount of rebuilding had been done by the towns. Throughout the latter part of 1928, travel on the public roads was reasonably comfortable, and the majority of main highways approached normal condition, except that detours were still fairly plentiful. The "flood" of summer tourists was agreeably surprised to find so much progress had been made, both in transportation and the rehabilitation of cities, towns and countryside. The net result of what seemed to be an unsurmountable disaster will be several hundred new bridges better placed and better designed for modern traffic, and highways and roads very much better than the State had ever possessed. And the work will not take a decade or two to accomplish; Vermont before the first day of 1930 will have not merely replaced what was swept away, but have more good roads and better bridges than at any period in her history.

The following tables are taken from the Biennial Report of the State Highway Board for 1927-1928:

1927 FLOOD REPAIR WORK

(Covering payments to June 30, 1928.)

Paid by state direct to towns	$452,309.56
Paid by state on contract work in towns	184,469.53
Paid by state on state force account work in towns	220,535.20
Total paid by state for work in towns	$857.414.29
Paid by state direct to cities and villages	$100,940.28
Paid by state on contract work in cities and villages	52,018.06
Paid by state on state force account work in cities and villages	3,931.48
Total paid by state for work in cities and villages	$156,889.82
Grand total as per above items	$1,014,304.11
Engineering expenses paid by the state in connection with flood repair work	59,882.96
Supplies, salaries for clerk hire and miscellaneous repairs and expense on flood account	17,917.46
Grand total paid from flood funds to June 30, 1928	$1,092,104.53

STATUS OF VERMONT FEDERAL FLOOD PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION JUNE 30, 1928

Town and Local Designation	County	Total Length in Miles	Type of Const.	Total Estimated Cost
Arlington Roaring Branch Bridge	Bennington	0.040	Steel Bridge and Approaches	$39,821.43
Clarendon Rutland-Manchester Road	Rutland	2.319	Steel Bridge and Concrete Road	111,631.45
Middlesex Great Brook Bridge	Washington	0.056	Concrete Bridge and Approaches	6,331.89
Middlesex-Moretown Twin Bridge	Washington	0.210	Steel Bridge and Approaches	71,120.98
Waterbury Little River Bridge	Washington	0.121	Steel Bridge and Approaches	32,468.04
Waterbury Village Bridge	Washington	0.033	Concrete Floor and Painting	7,471.09
Richmond Burlington-Montpelier Road	Chittenden	4.822	Bridge and Concrete Road	235,652.38



WINOOSKI-BURLINGTON HIGHWAY BRIDGE, REPLACING ONE TAKEN OUT BY 1927 FLOOD. THE LARGEST DECK PLATE GIRDER IN VERMONT

STATUS OF VERMONT FEDERAL FLOOD PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION JUNE 30, 1928 (Continued)

Town and Local Designation	County	Total Length in Miles	Type of Const.	Total Estimated Cost
Bethel				
Water Street Bridge	Windsor	0.160	Steel Bridge and Approaches	77,461.75
Bethel-Stockbridge				
Bethel-Stockbridge Road	Windsor	1.038	Gravel	78,121.53
Berlin				
Dodge Bridge	Washington	0.012	Concrete Bridge	11,836.02
Mendon				
Mendon Mountain Road	Rutland	1.212	Bridge and Gravel Road	57,958.73
Bridgewater				
Bridgewater-Rutland Road	Windsor	0.085	Steel Bridge and Approaches	31,783.95
Bridgewater-Sherburne				
Rutland-White River Jct. Road	Rutland-Windsor	1.123	Six Bridges and Gravel Road	59,940.69
Hartford-Sharon				
Hartford-Sharon Road	Windsor	5.236	Surface Treated Gravel	220,739.05
Wallingford-Shrewsbury				
Rutland-Bellows Falls Road	Rutland	3.997	Four Bridges and Gravel Road	203,590.99
Ludlow				
Fire Station Bridge	Windsor	0.028	Concrete Bridge	36,613.28
Londonderry				
Village Bridge	Windham	0.056	Steel Bridge and Approaches	19,535.65
Cambridge				
Essex Jct.-Morrisville	Lamoille	0.048	Steel Bridge and Approaches	47,146.72
Morristown				
Tenney Bridge	Lamoille	0.105	Steel Bridge and Approaches	28,762.91
Wolcott				
Spaulding Bridge	Lamoille	0.037	Steel Bridge and Approaches	28,655.96
Wolcott				
Pottersville Bridge	Lamoille	0.104	Two Bridges and Approaches	23,020.22
Hardwick				
Jackson Bridge	Caledonia	0.066	Steel Bridge and Approaches	15,667.74
Johnson				
French Bridge	Lamoille	0.217	Steel Bridge and Approaches	58,838.12
Johnson				
Village Bridge	Lamoille	0.056	Steel Bridge and Approaches	28,833.20
Brookfield-Braintree				
Village Bridge	Orange	0.123	Two Concrete Bridges and Approaches	20,585.95
Randolph				
Village Bridge	Orange	0.045	Concrete Bridge	53,520.50
Johnson	Lamoille	0.094	Concrete Bridge and Approaches	21,406.97

STATUS OF VERMONT FEDERAL FLOOD PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION JUNE 30, 1928 (Continued)

Town and Local Designation	County	Total Length in Miles	Type of Const.	Total Estimated Cost
Hyde Park				
Village and Junction Bridges	Lamoille	0.137	Two Steel Bridges and Approaches	40,888.10
Newport				
Four Town Bridges	Orleans	0.207	Four Concrete Bridges	36,420.12
St. Johnsbury-Lyndon	Caledonia	7.592	Bridge and Concrete Road	302,951.11
St. Johnsbury				
Hastings Street Bridge	Caledonia	0.170	Steel Bridge and Approaches	52,031.69
Newport				
Causeway Bridge	Orleans	0.074	Concrete Bridge	77,190.82
Bristol				
Bartlett Bridge	Addison	0.075	Concrete Bridge and Approaches	9,436.90
Sheffield				
Village Bridge	Caledonia	0.028	Concrete Bridge and Approaches	11,755.70
South Royalton				
Village Bridge	Windsor	0.053	Concrete Bridge and Approaches	22,013.99
Dorset-Rupert	Bennington	0.056	Two Concrete Bridges and Approaches	14,306.87
Craftsbury				
Wilson Bridge	Orleans	0.005	Concrete Bridge	8,114.48
Craftsbury				
Udall Bridge	Orleans	0.009	Concrete Bridge	9,872.88
Rutland				
Dorr and Ripley Bridges	Rutland	0.188	Two Steel Bridges	85,185.10
Jamaica				
Lower Coleman Bridge	Windham	0.014	Steel Bridge	21,312.50
Londonderry				
Benson Bridge	Windham	0.042	Concrete Bridge	14,391.74
Brookline-Newfane	Windham	0.035	Steel Bridge	32,856.11
Bridgewater				
Bridgewater Corners Bridge	Windsor	0.047	Steel Bridge	27,688.10
Richmond-Jonesville				
Village Bridges	Chittenden	0.225	Two Steel Bridges	79,999.29
Berlin-Middlesex				
Three-Miles Bridge	Washington	0.048	Steel Bridge	27,297.05
Middlesex-Moretown				
Village Bridge	Washington	0.020	Steel Bridge	35,178.00
Waterbury				
Winooski Street Bridge	Washington	0.039	Steel Bridge	28,037.02
Moretown				
Ashley Bridge	Washington	0.022	Steel Bridge	34,544.95
Rochester				
Lyon and Talcville Bridges	Windsor	0.118	Two Steel Bridges	59,077.97
Morristown				
Cady's Falls Bridge	Lamoille	0.042	Steel Bridge	15,991.36
Wolcott				
Village Bridge	Lamoille	0.054	Steel Bridge	21,254.86

STATUS OF VERMONT FEDERAL FLOOD PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION JUNE 30, 1928 (Continued)

Town and Local Designation	County	Total Length in Miles	Type of Const.	Total Estimated Cost
Sharon-West Hartford Village Bridges	Windsor	0.372	Two Steel Bridges	68,005.98
Bristol Coffin Factory Bridge	Addison	0.026	Steel Bridge	22,868.07
Danby Four Bridges	Rutland	0.170	Four Concrete Bridges	35,463.23

STATUS OF VERMONT STATE FLOOD PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION JUNE 30, 1928

Town and Local Designation	County	Total Length in Miles	Type of Const.	Total Estimated Cost
Montpelier School and Langdon St. Bridges	Washington	0.028	Two Steel Bridges	44,441.10
Johnson Railroad Street Bridge	Lamoille	0.026	Steel Bridge	38,821.62
Barton	Orleans	0.037	Steel Bridge	20,529.96
Berkshire-Fairfax	Franklin	0.060	Steel Superstructures	33,759.00
Richford Lamoille River Bridge	Franklin	0.023	Steel Superstructures	20,009.00
St. Johnsbury Arlington St. Bridge	Caledonia	0.025	Concrete and Steel I-Beam	14,204.35
East Barnet	Caledonia	—	Concrete Superstructure	4,524.86
Passumpsic	Caledonia	—	Concrete Superstructure	11,823.17
East Barnet-Passumpsic	Caledonia	0.057	Two Steel Superstructures	26,970.42
North Royalton	Windsor	0.030	Steel Bridge	15,878.80
Newbury Wells River Bridge	Orange	0.056	Concrete Abutments and Approaches	6,453.67
Randolph	Orange	0.024	Four Concrete Bridges	50,387.31
Bethel Finley Bridge	Windsor	0.085	Concrete Bridge and Approaches	21,606.09
Greensboro, Barton, West Glover Bridges	Orleans	0.031	Five Concrete Bridges	41,683.89
Pownal Pier	Bennington	—	Concrete Substructure	3,364.18
Moretown-Wolcott-Middlesex-Berlin-Waitsfield	Lamoille Washington	0.150	Eight Steel Superstructures	32,890.00
Barton-Brownington	Orleans	1.752	Concrete Bridge and Gravel Surface	103,004.16
Highgate-Enosburg-Sheldon	Franklin	0.173	Four Steel Superstructures	74,470.00
Braintree Ford Bridge	Orange	0.016	Steel Bridge	8,919.35
Starksboro	Addison	0.015	Five Concrete Bridges and Approaches	30,233.45

STATUS OF VERMONT STATE FLOOD PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION JUNE 30, 1928 (Continued)

Town and Local Designation	County	Total Length in Miles	Type of Const.	Total Estimated Cost
Ripton	Addison	0.011	Three Concrete Bridges and Approaches	18,474.44
Woodford Brattleboro-Bennington Road	Bennington	0.125	Rock Removal	8,185.58

The Question of Flood Control—Vermonters intend that never again shall a deluge bring another disaster to the State. Meteorological conditions may never again be such as to produce so great a rainfall as that of November, 1927, but it is possible, if not probable, that another and even greater flood might occur in any year. The mountainous character of the State, its many streams and its age-worn narrow valleys lay it open to the repetition of damages by high waters, and the continued depletion of its forests increases this liability. Other parts of the nation are busy with the question of flood control; our oldest neighbor to the north has established great reservoirs, two of which are the second and third largest in the world. The primary object of Quebec, in building these great basins, was to equalize the flow of rivers so that more hydro-power might be developed, but they have proven tremendously valuable aids in the prevention of floods or the minimizing of the disastrous effects of high water. In Vermont, during the great flood, certain reservoirs proved capable of taking care of the torrential streams which poured into them, thereby preventing any damage, more than that produced locally, to the areas which lay immediately down stream. A sufficient number of like reservoirs properly distributed might have reduced to a relatively unimportant minimum the damage done by the late flood.

Looking to the proper control of floods, a committee was authorized by the Legislature to make a survey of the waters of the State. The advisory committee of engineers, in a report of August 30, 1928, in reporting progress, indicated in most general terms that their investigations were being carried on with two things in mind: (1) the advisability of creating reservoirs for storage purposes on the White, Winooski, Lamoille, Missisquoi, and Passumpsic river systems; (2) the clearing out and straightening of river channels at important points. Promising sites for such control basins were found on all these streams, and there were many places where channel conditions were such as too greatly to retard flood waters, with special channel problems at such places as Montpelier, Barre, Waterbury, Proctor, Johnson, Gaysville, Cavendish, etc. The com-



THE 550 FOOT BRIDGE AT HARTFORD

Longest of more than 1300 built in Vermont since the flood. Built on a 5% grade to make approach at bank levels—the piers are of varying height.

mittee made few direct recommendations, for its duties were those of investigation, and centered its activities upon the getting together of complete topographical data of the State. In order to have more nearly complete information concerning the river flow as a foundation upon which future flood control must be founded, twenty-two river-gauging stations were operated.

The question of flood control is not likely to be solved, or, more correctly, effected within the present decade. The cost of rehabilitation is so great, and the attention and efforts of people and State are so centered upon rehabilitation that the problem of the prevention of another like disaster must be left to a later time for solution. To a limited extent, and chiefly about the larger places, débris and smaller obstructions are being removed from the streams. But the widening of channels, the removal of permanent obstructions caused by "made land," old dams, and the like, the widening of the spans of bridges to give freer course to the rivers beneath them, and particularly the widening of the channels of streams flowing through the cities and larger villages, all these can only be accomplished by a concurrence of land owners and the expenditures of such sums by municipalities and State as are, in the immediate future, hardly possible. If reservoirs are created, there is still the problem of the heavy expense incurred; it is hardly probable that either State or Federal governments will attempt to find the funds necessary for such works. Vermont's industrial future is allied with the hydro-power developments of its rivers. There is no doubt, that in Vermont as in New York and other States, and in the Province of Quebec, the power companies would welcome, and pay well for, storage basins which would hold until such times as it was needed the excess waters which now waste themselves in the riotous and destructive rampages of spring and autumn. It may be that through coöperation between government and power companies, great catch basins will be constructed at strategic points along the principal rivers of Vermont, and serve the double purpose of increasing the potential power of the streams and give needed control of flood conditions. It is a big problem, but no precaution can be neglected to prevent a recurrence of the 1927 disaster.

INVESTIGATIONS BY CONSULTING ENGINEER

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF WORK

Instructions by the Committee to its Consulting Engineer included the following:

> "The Consulting Engineer is hereby authorized and directed by the Committee to proceed with the necessary field and office work

requisite in the preparation of data required for a comprehensive report to the Vermont Legislature of 1929 upon the subject of floods in the State of Vermont and methods for preventing damage from floods, in compliance with authorization and instructions of the Governor and Emergency Board; together with preliminary plans and descriptions of all structures needed for such purposes, with the estimated cost of the same."

Following is a brief summary of the results of his investigations so far as completed:

BRIEF SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF CONSULTING ENGINEER

FLOOD OF NOVEMBER, 1927

Of the total area of the State of Vermont—about 9,565 square miles—a little over half is included in the seven principal river systems, *viz.*, the Missisquoi, Lamoille, Winooski, White, Passumpsic, Otter Creek and West rivers. While flood damage in November, 1927, was general throughout the State, the first five of the above rivers suffered severely. There were also many instances of serious damage on the smaller streams, and damage may be said to have been general with the exception of upon the Deerfield River, where storage reservoirs prevented flood damage.

While this was a very unusual storm, the records show that storms of almost the same magnitude have occurred previously—notably that centering in Vermont in July, 1830, which caused great damage and loss of life, and numerous other great storms like that of October, 1869, centering elsewhere in New England. It is likely that such a storm as that of 1927 may be expected in Vermont *on the average* perhaps once in fifty to seventy-five years, but of course *it may occur at any time.*

The flood flow of Vermont rivers in November, 1927, was also noteworthy, some of the larger unit flows being as follows:

Table 3. Flood Flow of Vermont Rivers—November, 1927

River	Point	Drainage area sq. miles	Flood flow cu. ft. per sec.	Unit flood flow per sq. mi.	Ratio of flood flow to summer flow
Winooski	Essex Jct.	1,020	116,000	114	230
Winooski	Montpelier	397	60,000	150	300
Jail Branch Winooski	East Barre	38	11,500	303	570
North Branch Winooski	Wrightsville	67	17,200	257	500
Lamoille	Cadys Falls	280	36,600	131	260
Missisquoi	Richford	445	45,000	101	200
White	White River Junction	695	140,000	202	400
West	Newfane	310	45,000	145	300
Ottaqueechee	Taftsville	192	25,400	132	270
East Creek	Rutland	26	4,750	182	370

The great damage and loss of life were due especially to:

(1) The excessive flow and unprecedented height of water reached in localities where it was entirely unexpected and in many places at night.

(2) The coming downstream of great masses of floating débris—wooden bridges, buildings, etc.

(3) Very high velocities of flow due to steep slopes, causing much erosion of sand and gravel, which covered meadow lands downstream and ruined them.

(4) At certain places, *e. g.*, Bolton Falls and Proctor, the river channels were inadequate and overflow occurred, with cutting of deep channels in new locations, resulting in great damage to railroads, highways and property. At Montpelier, Barre, Waterbury, Springfield, etc., damage was chiefly due to overflow. At Gaysville, Cavendish and Mackville a new and deep channel was cut at one side of the river, with large resulting damage.

METHODS OF LESSENING FLOOD DAMAGE

The essential in flood prevention is to lessen the flood peaks to such an extent that excessive damage will be prevented.

In the case of the Miami River flood prevention works in Ohio this was accomplished fundamentally by constructing large detention reservoirs, which would normally be empty, to catch flood waters and release them slowly by means of large conduits through the dams. Channel improvement also comprised a part of this work, this consisting of widening, straightening and deepening the channel, removing obstructions and encroachments in the channel, and construction of levees.

In Ohio, as at Dayton, the property affected by floods was of great value, warranting a large expense for protection. There is no such concentration of value in Vermont and similar methods of dealing with the general problem would not be justified. However, much work of value has already been accomplished in Vermont, in the way of increased channel way, bridges, protection of highway and railway embankments, raising of grades, etc. It must be kept in mind also that the menace of floating wooden bridges and buildings is now largely removed as one result of the 1927 flood.

The only feasible method of diminishing flood flows in Vermont consists in constructing reservoirs for power use. As shown by experience on the Deerfield River, these are well drawn down by the fall of the year when great floods are most likely to occur, as shown by records of the past. Hence, automatically they act to prevent floods. Every power reservoir on a river helps to lessen flood tendencies and by developing comprehensive reservoir systems the flood hazard may be reduced to a minimum and at the same time the cost carried by the accompanying power developments.

Even when power storage reservoirs are filled, which is normally for about two months in the late spring, with the storage capacity available above the spillway level and adequate gate control to anticipate unusual rainfall, reservoir systems will still function to prevent floods, assuming competent and adequate operation.

The planning of comprehensive storage and power developments for each river system has developed therefore as the basic feature of flood control for the five large rivers on which work is contemplated—the White, Winooski, Lamoille,

Missisquoi and Passumpsic. These have been thoroughly surveyed and studied with this end in view.

INVESTIGATIONS AND SURVEYS

The State topographic maps of the United States Geological Survey furnished an excellent basis for the selection and study of storage reservoir and power sites where available. About one-third of the State is unmapped, however, and it was necessary in these districts to make river strip surveys, after reconnoissance to determine where these were essential. This survey work was done in coöperation of this Committee and the United States Engineer District Office of the War Department by the Topographic Branch of the United States Geological Survey, who placed four survey parties in the field and covered sections of the Winooski, Lamoille, White and Passumpsic rivers, including a total river length of about 160 miles.

The results of river surveys made by the United States Engineer Corps on Winooski, Lamoille, Missisquoi, Otter Creek and Poultney rivers were also placed at our disposal.

Reconnoissance of all reservoir and power sites was made either by the Consulting Engineer or his assistant, Mr. Richard S. Holmgren. Surveys of forty reservoir dam sites were made by a party under the direction of Professor L. B. Puffer of the University of Vermont. The river surveys made by the United States District Engineers of the War Department were under the direction of Mr. H. E. Libby, Associate Engineer.

As a suitable foundation for the study of future projects twenty-one river gauging stations were established and records of flow begun under the immediate direction of Mr. H. B. Kinnison, District Engineer of the United States Geological Survey, supplemented by this Committee and the United States District Engineers of the War Department.

Preliminary estimates of cost of all reservoir and power developments were made upon a systematic basis. After study it was found that some of the sites were too costly to be practicable and these were discarded from further consideration.

Realizing that the time was limited and that it would be impossible to complete well-detailed investigations of all the streams in time to report by January 1, 1929, the Committee found it possible to make thorough and complete investigations of five of the large rivers which suffered heavily from flood damage, *viz.*, the White, Winooski, Lamoille, Missisquoi and Passumpsic, and to make some start on the other streams, with the idea of eventually investigating all streams of importance in the State, within the flood area.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Following is a summary of the more important results of the investigations made of the five rivers for which work has been completed:

(1) Upon all of these rivers storage capacity has been found sufficient to practically eliminate the flood hazard, assuming operation under competent and adequate control.

(2) Reservoir systems have been worked out that will build up the low water flow to such an extent that these may all become dependable power

streams. This means that all plants on the river below will be of increased value, due to the resulting steady power which will be available.

(3) The development of power at and near reservoir sites can in nearly all instances be accomplished at low cost and provide a return which will, in most instances, carry the cost of the reservoir.

(4) It has been possible to work out for each river a comprehensive plan for storage and power development, including available head at reservoir sites as well as at other power sites on the river below, that will provide power at reasonable cost—varying between two-third cents and seven-eighth cents per kilowatt hour (including all fixed and operating costs of reservoirs and power development, including land and property, but without allowance for special water rights) and as low as one-half cent per kilowatt hour in some cases.

(5) The total plant capacity for these five rivers fully developed would be about 280,000 horse-power and they would afford nearly a billion kilowatt hours yearly—largely primary power. This is of course at present far beyond market possibilities.

(6) As the market for power grows these storage and power systems may be developed, selecting the better projects first, but adhering to the general scheme as further developed by more detailed studies. It would be a long-time program, but when carried out would result in rivers highly developed for dependable power and free from disastrous floods.

(7) Some of the summarized details relating to storage and power results are appended in tabular form.

The facts of striking interest are:

(a) Three thousand nine hundred square miles of river basins are included in the five rivers, or forty per cent of the area of the State. Of this area, 3,319 square miles will have storage control.

(b) Storage reservoir capacity proposed to high water line totals fifty-eight billion cubic feet, with forty-two billion cubic feet up to spillway level, sufficient to regulate all these rivers as efficiently as is now the case with the Deerfield River.

(c) Power developments at reservoir and downstream sites to an amount of 280,000 horse-power are proposed which would afford nearly a billion kilowatt hours yearly—largely primary power.

The total head developed would be 6,785 feet, with about two-thirds of this on Lamoille and Winooski rivers alone.

(d) The estimated total cost of all reservoirs is $40,000,000; of all storage and power developments combined $74,000,000, or a total cost per horse-power of capacity of about $264 for *all* storage and power projects.

(e) The average cost of power is estimated at 0.8 cent per kilowatt hour, including all fixed and operating charges for reservoirs and power developments, but not including allowance for special water rights.

(8) To secure some immediate effect in reducing flood tendency the following initial program might be suggested:

WHITE RIVER

A single large project on upper White River affords 5.2 billion cubic feet of storage at a total cost of $3,600,000. At a further cost of $1,200,000 a 12,000

horse-power development, affording forty-six million kilowatt hours annually of power (75% primary), can be constructed. This one reservoir would largely eliminate the possibility of floods on White River and would materially build up the low water flow of White River and add as well to the Connecticut River below.

WINOOSKI RIVER

Reservoirs constructed on Jail Branch and the North Branch of the Winooski River, totalling 2.0 billion cubic feet capacity, would be of material assistance in lessening flood flow in Barre and Montpelier, at a total cost of about $1,900,000. These can both have power developments totalling 6,500 horse-power of wheels and affording twenty-two million kilowatt hours of power (60% primary) at a further cost of $600,000.

LAMOILLE RIVER

Reservoirs on two of the tributaries of Lamoille River, totalling 1.0 billion cubic feet of capacity, can be constructed for about $600,000. Power developments with 6,500 horse-power of wheels would cost $700,000 more and give about twenty-two million kilowatt hours yearly of power (70% primary).

These reservoirs would make a good start upon the Lamoille River reservoir system.

MISSISQUOI RIVER

Two reservoirs upon the upper Missisquoi River, totalling 1.5 billion cubic feet of capacity, would cost about $2,000,000. Power developments, with about 6,000 horse-power of wheels, would cost about $430,000 additional and afford about twenty million kilowatt hours yearly of power (50% primary).

These reservoirs would practically eliminate floods in the upper river and reduce them materially lower down.

PASSUMPSIC RIVER

Two reservoirs in the upper Passumpsic River, totalling 0.8 billion cubic feet of capacity, can be built for $1,500,000. A power development of 2,100 horse-power can be built for $390,000 additional, affording about nine million kilowatt hours of power yearly.

These reservoirs would make a good start on this river in helping to reduce flood tendency.

The foregoing program summarized is as follows:

Total storage capacity:	
Below spillway	— 10.5 bill. cu. ft.
Above spillway	— 3.5 bill. cu. ft.
Cost	— $12,900,000.
Capacity of power plants	— 33,100 H. P. or $390 per H. P.
Mill. kw. hrs. yearly	— 119.
Cost per kw. hr.	— 1.13 cents.

While these are not the projects lowest in cost, and hence not as good from the point of view of power production, they would be of material aid in flood prevention and might therefore be taken up in advance of the more attractive projects.

(9) Investigations are under way by the Committee on other important streams of the State, including the Black, West, Wells, Williams, Ottaquechee, Poultney, Battenkill, Clyde and Nulhegan River systems, and Otter Creek, etc. While the results will probably not be as striking as for the five rivers now completed, the indications are that substantial storage and power possibilities will be found here as well.

(10) Detailed surveys and plans have been made of certain localities where special flood problems exist—at Bolton, Waterbury, Montpelier, Barre, and Proctor. Special studies will be made at these points and at Johnson, to be presented in a later report.



CHAPTER XIII

RIVER AND LAKE NAVIGATION

'Tis gone, 'tis gone, the day is past
And night's dark shade is o'er us cast,
And further, further, further still,
The steamboat's winding through the vale,
The cannon roar through hill and dale.
Hail to the day when Captain Nutt
Sailed up the fair Connecticut.

Thus did a Haverhill, New Hampshire, poet celebrate the great day when the "John Ledyard" steamed up the winding stream to Wells River, 250 miles from its mouth. And that was in 1831, when a corporation known as the Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company had been formed and with the capital thus raised, five small steamers were built and put upon the river at different sections between Hartford, Connecticut, and Wells River. It was the realization of the dreams of John Fitch of Windsor, Connecticut, and Captain Samuel Morey of Orford, New Hampshire, both of whom were pioneers in using steam for propelling vessels. The Connecticut inventor received lasting fame by having a tablet erected to his memory in the State House at Hartford, while Captain Morey, whose little steamer ran one summer Sunday on the Connecticut River near Fairlee and Orford, died a disappointed man, and his boat is believed to be at the bottom of the lake that bears his name.

Early Navigation Schemes—It was the realization, too, to a certain extent, of that little band of Scotch settlers that had planned to found at Ryegate, Vermont, the town just above Wells River, a city. Large warehouses and locks were to be erected along the shores of Ryegate Pond. This was to be connected with the Connecticut River by a series of locks and dams with the expectation of making the "Quon-eh-to-kot," meaning in the Indian dialect "Long River," navigable from Wells River to Long Island Sound, some 250 miles as the crow flies. The Scotch Land Company was backed by the folks across the seas, but steamers never came to the rural communities of Ryegate, though one did get as far as Wells River. With steamers successfully operating on the Hudson it suggested what might be done on the Connecticut, and on February 3, 1825, a convention was called to interest the people in the new

enterprise, and delegates attended from all along the river from the Canadian line to the Sound. Moses P. Payson, of Bath, New Hampshire, presided and the plan was, as one expressed it, "To legislate Connecticut River into the list of navigable streams, and to order the removal of obstacles." Hon. DeWitt Clinton, Jr., estimated that by the expenditure of a million dollars, canals could be constructed to make the river navigable, and it is interesting to note that his surveys of the valley were used almost a generation later by the engineers who built the Passumpsic Railroad, now parts of the Boston & Maine system and the Canadian Pacific Railway, from White River Junction to the Canadian line.

The Pioneer Voyage of the "Barnet"—The pioneer boat of the line was the "Barnet," built in New York City in 1826, a steamer 75 feet long, 14½ feet wide, and drawing 22 inches of water. Her trip up the river in December of that year at the rapid rate of five miles per hour, was a series of ovations such as the river cities and towns have never seen equaled. With Captain Palmer on the "bridge" she left Hartford amid a fusillade of musketry from both sides of the river, the sound of the guns being almost drowned by the exhaust from the "Barnet" boiler. Wind and tide and a heavily laden flat boat at the Enfield Rapids were obstacles which Captain Palmer could not overcome, and within a week he and his boat were back at Hartford. A week later the Enfield Rapids were passed by thirty fallsmen assisting, poling from scows lashed on each side of the steamer. At Springfield she got her first welcome—and it was a royal one. The streets were deserted as the crowd rushed to the waterfront to see the strange craft. Court was in session at the time, but it did not have any spectators, for when news reached the courtroom of the arrival of the "Barnet," the room was speedily emptied, leaving only the judge and the jury and the counsel on each side. All the town bells were rung, salutes were fired and the captain and his crew were entertained over night with unbounded hospitality. The next morning the voyage was resumed with increased speed, and at Willimansett Falls the enthusiastic populace drew the boat over the rapids. At Northampton, one thousand people came down to the river to see a steamer for the first time. A flag was hoisted on the bridge that spanned the Connecticut, more powder was burned, and the people gave wild huzzahs. Captain Palmer was again invited to test the hospitality of his new-found friends, and at a public supper at the tavern he was treated according to the custom of those days. At this place, Captain Strong,

one of the most noted rivermen of his day, took command, and the voyage northward was one continuous round of ovations. The citizens fired a salute at Montague, which Captain Strong returned. At Cheapside, near Deerfield, she was saluted by thirteen guns and the "Barnet" responded with twice that number.

Celebrations in Vermont—The receptions in Vermont were even more hilarious and vociferous. As Brattleboro was reached and Captain Strong saw the crowd on the banks, a chronicler says, "He proudly walked the deck of his steamer, inspiring confidence that greater things were at hand and a new era about to dawn upon this fertile valley." Before he reached port his advent was greeted with bonfires, bell-ringing, and intoxication. British cannon taken from Burgoyne at Bennington were blazing away, and about this time the captain had to pay attention to his boat struggling against the rapids. The boat stopped with a blaze of fire pouring from its little smokestack and Captain Strong punching against the rocky bed of the river with a long pole. In this moment of delirious success, he fell from the boat and would have been drowned had not strong hands pulled him out of the icy waters. The rapids were finally conquered by applying the stationary windlass that had long been used for drawing flat boats over the rapids. The festivities of the day continued until the next day, and for years afterwards the celebration was known as the "famous high-go," with the morning sun looking down on broken windows, furniture and many a swelled head.

The "Barnet" never reached its *ultima thule* as it could not pass through the locks at Bellows Falls, and here all previous celebrations paled in comparison. The boat was met in the canal by a delegation of the citizens, who gave all on board the freedom of the town, and one of the passengers fittingly responded. The Mansion House was crowded that night at the banquet, and many waited outside to hear the speaking, where thirty-one speeches were made, each man responding to a toast, among which was the following:

"Let the Connecticut River be dammed but never choked."

If the people outside the dining-room could not hear the speeches, they knew when each orator had finished, as the conclusion of each toast was announced by the firing of a cannon adjacent to the tavern. . The "Barnet" returned to Hartford soon after this, where her arrival was celebrated at John Morgan's Coffee House with another banquet with the usual convivialities of those occasions, and sailed the big river no more.

Other Steamboats of the Upper Connecticut—The crowning speech of the Bellows Falls banquet was the toast to "The town of Barnet: May she speedily be gratified by the sight of her first-born." She never did, nor was there ever a steamboat which ascended the Connecticut as far as Barnet. There were many gallant attempts to accomplish the impossible, and the persistent efforts of later steamboat companies to enlarge the navigation of the upper river made picturesque pages in the closed history of steamboat navigation on the Vermont stretches of the Connecticut. Thomas Blanchard, of Springfield, Massachusetts, built, in 1829, the successor to the "Barnet," which was, with more caution, named the "Vermont." This was a craft of better construction, seventy-five feet in length, with a beam of fifteen feet and a draft of a single foot; the paddle wheel was placed well astern so as to be capable of working even in dead water. Like the "Barnet," the "Vermont's" progress up the river was marked with celebrations. There was no difficulty in passing through the Bellows Falls locks, nor in getting beyond Windsor to the locks of Water-Queeche, but here she stuck, and this marked the "farthest north" of the second attempt.

It was the third and last attempt which almost reached the ever-to-be-unattainable village of Barnet. Another Springfield steamer was felicitously named the "Ledyard," after that famous Connecticut-born traveler, John Ledyard, who while a student in Dartmouth College (1773) shaped from a giant pine a fifty-foot dugout canoe and in it made his way from Hanover to Hartford. It was this steamboat, under the guidance of Colonel Samuel Nutt, of White River Junction, that arrived at Wells River, amid the sound of cannon and the cheers of a great crowd waiting to greet the latest wonder of the day. The "Ledyard" was the first to have climbed up the Connecticut so far, and the second to go over the course of the pioneer steamer of Captain Morey, between Orford and Fairlee. When the gallant vessel attempted to traverse the few miles upward to Barnet, she ran ingloriously upon a sand bar just above the mouth of the Ammonusuc, and all the might of a long line of rivermen was unable to pull her farther. This was the end of the adventure and of attempts to provide river transportation on the upper Connecticut. The "Ledyard" beat a strategic retreat to the lower river and was converted into a tow-boat.

There were other steamers constructed, of course, and an attempt made to place craft upon various stretches of the river between the shallows or locks, thus by relays giving a sort of disconnected through system of navigation by water. Vermont added to its industries that



STEAMER VERMONT, ONE OF THE VERY FINE BOATS PLYING REGULARLY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

of "shipbuilding" and shipyards were established at several places. To quote Hon. Lyman S. Hayes' address before the Vermont Historical Society, in 1917:

> In the year 1830 the Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company issued stock for the building of steamers and five were built during the next year at different points of the river between Hartford, Connecticut, and Wells River. They were the "Adam Duncan," built at Wells River at a cost of $4,700, to run between Wells River and Olcott's Falls. Horace Duncan was her captain. The "David Porter" was built at White River Junction at a cost of $4,737.29, to run between Olcott's Falls and Bellows Falls,—John W. Andrus, captain. "William Holmes," built at Bellows Falls, costing $4,943.61, to run between there and South Hadley Falls,—James Davenport, captain. The "Ariel Cooley" and the "William Hall" were built below South Hadley Falls to cover the two lower stretches of the river and were commanded respectively by Captains Hiram Smith and Pelatiah Ely.
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> . . . . . .
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> The whole enterprise of steam navigation above the Northern Massachusetts line proved unsuccessful. There were many obstacles to navigation; freight rates were necessarily high; it did not pay expenses; assessments were called for and, in 1832, the Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company failed and no general system of propelling boats above tidewater except by wind, oars and poles has since been employed.

The boats of the company survived but little longer than the concern. The "Adam Duncan" burst a pipe connecting her boilers, of which she had four, on her second trip, a Fourth of July excursion from Wells River to Hanover, and ended its short career. The "William Holmes" operated for a year or two after the melancholy failure of the company, between Bellows Falls and Charlestown, but without profit. She was stripped of the machinery and the hull left to rot upon the river bank. The "David Porter" met with the same fate. The "Ariel Cooley," under the name "Greenfield," blew up in 1840, with the loss of three men killed and several injured. An occasional freight boat penetrated the Vermont reaches of the Connecticut as late as the early "forties," but steamboating and shipyards had run their short race between 1826 and 1831, a picturesque but unprofitable five years.

With the advent of the railroad the steamboat was to have practically no part in the transportation systems of the States along the Connecticut River above Hartford. During the high tide of upper river steamboating, before 1844, there was one steamer worthy of mention, if for no other reason than to give a famous novelist's impression of her. This was the "Massachusetts," a deck-cabined, double-engined craft, "the most complete craft that had yet been seen on the River above Hartford." Charles Dickens took passage

on the "Massachusetts," in 1842, and thus described it in his "American Notes":

> It certainly was not called a small steamboat without reason. I omitted to ask the question, but I should think it must have been of about half a pony power. Mr. Paap, the celebrated Dwarf, might have lived and died happily in the cabin, which was fitted with common sash-windows like an ordinary dwelling-house. These windows had bright-red curtains, too, hung on slack strings across the lower panes; so that it looked like the parlor of a Lilliputian public-house, which had got afloat in a flood or some other water accident, and was drifting nobody knew where. But even in this chamber there was a rocking-chair. It would be impossible to get on anywhere in America, without a rocking-chair.
>
> I am afraid to tell how many feet short this vessel was, or how many feet narrow; to apply the words length and width to such measurement would be a contradiction in terms. But I may state that we all kept the middle of the deck, lest the boat should unexpectedly tip over; and that the machinery, by some surprising process of condensation, worked between it and the keel: the whole forming a warm sandwich, about three feet thick.

When the River Was the Great Highway—If one would trace the navigation of the Connecticut back to its beginnings, one must go back of the steamboat to the river-raft, and behind this to the flat boat and even farther back to the canoe. The first navigators were the Indians who in birch-barks and dugouts moved up and down the stream on hunting or fishing excursions, or later, on predatory incursions against the white man. The Connecticut was the Indian's highway even as it came to be the great "road" in the valley of the pioneers. As early as 1525 the first white man, the Spaniard, Estevan Gomez, entered the mouth of the river. About 1614, Adrian Block, a Dutch navigator, sailed his vessel sixty miles up the stream. When New Amsterdam and Plymouth had been settled the Dutch and the Pilgrim became interested in the possibilities of the fur trade among the Indians who traversed the Connecticut, and efforts made to get control of this source of wealth. Both had established trading stations by 1633 and English ships entered the river; the Dutch had already been taking rich cargoes out of it for some years. The Puritans entered the game in 1636, when William Pynchon laid the foundation of Springfield, Massachusetts, and went into the river business in a systematic way. There was then an abundance of beaver in the tributaries of the Connecticut, particularly in what was later to become the States of Vermont and New Hampshire. The bark and the log canoe, often of large size, were the means of navigation. What a thrilling sight was that in 1638 when a fleet of fifty Indian canoes swept down from the Indian Village of Pocum-

tuck (Deerfield) to the lower river settlements, loaded to their gunwales with corn for the half-starved settlers. In later years, when Deerfield had been settled by the whites, there came Indians and French out of the north, to wreak destruction upon the sleeping hamlet. And these also traveled by the river, for in winter there was no highway for man or beast equal to the ice.

The Flat-boat and the Settlement of Vermont—At the end of the French and Indian wars in 1760, the first movement of any size was into the regions north of Massachusetts. There may have been a few hundred people in the high upper valley of the Connecticut at that time, but in thirty years thousands had gone up the river to settle the north country even on into Canada and the Eastern Townships. A census of 1791 shows that in the Vermont counties of Windham, Windsor and Orange there were 43,970 souls; there were even more on the east side of the river. It is quite probable that the majority of these pioneer settlers made their way to the country on flat-boats and were dependent upon them for the bringing in of supplies and the taking out of exports. It is well to recall that the western limit of civilization, at this time, was the Mohawk River, and the day of the turnpike and reasonably passable roads was yet to come. At the beginning of the larger settlement of the "New-Hampshire Grants," the boats were crude small affairs each built according to the ideas of the owner, and intended for his private use. The pioneer brought in his family and household and farm goods, and was usually his own freighter of such things as he produced.

It was not long, however, before the flat-boat became more or less standardized, and the business of transporting passengers and merchandise upon the river, organized. By 1780, between the several larger falls of the rivers there were groups of flat-boats engaged in freighting between the two points, the freight being unloaded and hauled by teams around the falls. During the Revolution, the head of this flat-boat navigation had reached Wells River, and Vermont and New Hampshire were able to send no small amount of supplies to those engaged in that war. It was not until after peace had been established that the value of the up-river country was appreciated and the inflow of settlers began to climb toward a high-water mark.

The flat-boat as built during the close of the eighteenth century and in general use from 1785 to 1855, was a scow-shaped affair very much like the old chain ferries of our boyhood except that they were longer and narrower, the width being determined by factors which

will be pointed out in a later paragraph. The length was as great as could be handled under the worst river conditions, and there were occasional monstrosities as long as a hundred feet. The ideal craft seems to have been one about 70 feet long by 12 feet wide which could carry thirty tons of freight without drawing more than two feet of water. A mast with a square mainsail was set up in the center around which the boat's load was piled. Above the mainsail, when going before the wind, there might be a topsail and even a third sail rigged above this. Wind power was notoriously unreliable so that the propelling of the vessel, over the most of the journey, was done by men with oars and poles, especially the latter. A long ash pole with a spike in the end would be thrust into the bottom of the river, the upper end placed against the shoulder, and then each poleman, for equal numbers worked on each side of the craft, would bend himself to shoving the flat along as he walked from bow to stern. It was hard work, and river men were apt to be hard, tough customers in more senses than one. The average trip from Hartford to Wells River took twenty days, the down trip half that time.

The flat-boat would arrive at the foot of the falls which prevented farther progress, and its load of miscellaneous cargo would be carried around to the next clear reach of the river, by such teams as were available. As the north country became more settled and freight bound in either direction more plentiful, there developed a remunerative business at these "portages" in loading and unloading, hauling, and the renting of warehouse storage space. A hamlet was likely to grow up at a "carry," and these settlements tended to grow very rapidly, particularly if the falls or rapids near the site were easily harnessed to "corn" and sawmills, and the surrounding country was sufficiently fitted to supply the materials to keep the mills a-going. Quite a number of the river places of today were started as a "carry" station, and the freight handling business was the foundation of many a modern fortune.

Vermont a Pioneer in the Building of Canals—As we have seen, the steamboat was the attempt to improve on the slower methods of river navigation, and resulted in doing little more than to supply a faster mode of locomotion to the flat-boat. The greater part of the surviving steamers became tow-boats. Before the steamboat and the thing which made them useful was the canal. The portaging of freight around every large obstruction of the Connecticut was a slow and expensive feature of river navigation. Soon after the close of the Revolution efforts were made to remove this costly factor from the business by canalizing around the larger falls and rap-



OLD COVERED BRIDGE BETWEEN BURLINGTON AND WINOOSKI,
SHOWING THE MILL NEARBY

ids. There was a canal fever which swept the whole of the new United States of the early nineteenth century, the climax being reached in the Erie Canal. Vermonters were among the first to catch the fever, and the first along the Connecticut River to get started at the business of digging canals,—and the Connecticut River was the first in the new nation to be improved by canals.

The first Vermont Legislature in 1791, meeting at Windsor, granted a charter to the "Company for rendering the Connecticut River navigable by Bellows Falls,"—General Lewis B. Morris, of Springfield, Vermont, and Dr. William Page of Charlestown being the "company." Early the next year before this pioneer company became really established, the very strong Massachusetts Company, "The Proprieters of the Locks and Canals on the Connecticut River" was formed which began almost at once, the South Hadley Canal which, completed in 1795, and the first boat locked, or rather "elevated" through, marked the conclusion of one of the most original, as well as among the first, canals in this country. In it was the germ of the modern hydraulic works of the Holyoke Dam. The Turner's Falls Canal about three miles in length, with ten locks was opened in 1800. Both this and the South Hadley construction were financed by Holland money interests.

The Bellows Falls Canal was completed in 1802, and while the first to be chartered was the third to be finished. It was short, with eight locks, the engineering work being done by Dr. Page, one of the two original incorporators, the financing being done by Hodgson Atkinson of London, England, who never saw the canal, since he never came to this country. The canal remained in the hands of the Atkinson family for nearly three-quarters of a century. English money was invested in the two canals which completed the system to the north. One was at Summer's Falls (Water-Queeche) midway between Hartland and North Hartland on the Vermont side. The other was about three miles above White River Junction near Wilder. These canals although chartered by Vermont in 1794, were not completed and in operation until 1810. The five canals of the system had another added to it at Enfield, in 1829, and by them the navigation of the Connecticut was opened for flat-boats from Hartford to Barnet, a distance of two hundred and twenty miles, or two hundred and eighty miles from Long Island Sound.

The canals were narrow and shallow affairs; the one steamer to make its way the farthest up the river could run on a heavy dew and so narrow as to be almost invisible at a distance when coming head on. The lack of width in these artificial waterways checked

the development of the flat-boat, thereby making it the easier for this mode of locomotion to be displaced by the cumbersome and expensive early railroads. Despite all limitations in size, the numerous obstructions in the river, the absence of speed (this was not so great when the custom of steamboat towing was introduced) the flat-boat was able to hold its own as a means of handling freight until the middle of the nineteenth century. It was a long time before the canal fever abated. Many marvelous schemes were advanced for the canalizing on a large scale of the Connecticut as far as Fifteen Mile Falls above Barnet, and even this stretch was not considered to be unsurmountable. In 1825 the idea of connecting Lake Champlain with the Connecticut was given serious consideration. The Onion, or Winooski, River was the key stream in most of the plans, although three possible routes were thought to be practical. A committee appointed at Montpelier, in May, 1825, to look into the matter gave its report on June 30, of the same year, which was accepted and adopted. Of a series of resolutions adopted at this meeting, the most interesting was:

> Resolved, That the connection of the waters of Lake Champlain with the Connecticut River by means of a navigable canal through the valley of the Onion River, is an object of great public importance, and that prompt and efficient measures ought to be taken to secure the vast and permanent benefits which would necessarily result from a water communication thus formed through a fertile, populous and wealthy section of the country.

The closing words of the committee's report are even more intriguing:

> We most earnestly hope that the fever will not abate until the cooling waters of the Connecticut shall meet and mingle with those of Lake Champlain.

At the height of the canal fever there came a cure which started another rise in industrial temperature. The iron rail began to displace the canal, and the locomotive the steamer. Railroads were built in the lower valley of the Connecticut and by 1850 had been extended through Vermont. The competition they started rendered river navigation almost useless. All the canals were abandoned for traffic except at Windsor Locks, but it is worthy of note that all but one of the canals were changed to serve as power centers for manufacturing purposes. And thus endeth this great chapter in the history of the Connecticut River in Vermont as a means of transportation.

Logging and Rafting on the Connecticut—Second only to the part the river played in the settlement and development of Vermont

and New Hampshire, and included in it, was the rôle which was its by rights as the chief stream in a heavily forested country. Countless millions of logs have made their way down stream from the source 360 miles from the sea to the mouth, and from every tributary of any size. The greater part of this movement was coincident with the flat-boat and steamer period, and has never ended. There are no longer the tremendous number of saw logs to be sent out on the spring drive, nor are there many rivermen whose principal business it is to guide the long rushes of timber which were so prone to become obstreperous and jam. There arose, mainly with the present century, a demand for smaller stuff to be used at the hydro-power plants for the making of wood-pulp and paper. The demand now far exceeds the supply, and Vermont and New Hampshire are the only sources along the river of this supply. Annually 25,000,000 feet, or more, of logs are floated on their way to feed the maws of the maceraters in the paper mills at Gilman, Bellows Falls and Holyoke, and to other plants for other uses. One lumber company, formerly, controlled for many years the largest "drive" which sometime contained 75,000,000 feet of logs, but this custom was dropped before the World War, and has not been revived. Enormous quantities of pulp wood have been cut in Vermont and New Hampshire, but the supplies of this are being rapidly depleted, so that even the use of the river for transporting the products of the forest is growing less year by year.

The most picturesque form of river navigation was that practiced when logs, squared or round, were bound into rafts and served a double purpose by having deck loads of up-river productions shipped along with them to the Massachusetts and Connecticut markets. It was a wonderfully inexpensive method of freighting, one that was novel and sometimes dangerous. Few there are who can recall seeing these rafts. The Honorable Lyman S. Hayes has published the account of this rafting system which he wrote from the dictation of an old riverman. C. W. Bliss:

> I went down the river in May, 1854, when a boy of eighteen, in the capacity of cook for a rafting gang. The lumber was round logs cut 60 feet long. They were fastened together by two-inch planks at each end and in the middle of each log. Through these planks a wooden pin was driven into each log, making a solid mass about 12 feet wide and 60 long. This was called in the river parlance, a "box." From the end of the planks, at each corner of the box, a stout hard wood pin stuck up 15 inches or more, against which were braced oars for propelling and guiding the box, and over which could be placed short planks with holes in them, thus yoking the boxes securely together. Two boxes, side by side, and three in length, six in all, constituted a "raft" or "division."

It was in this form that the trip down the river was made, except when it was necessary to "break up the rafts" into boxes in order to pass through the different canals. There were 18 rafts in a division. It took two men to navigate each raft with rough oars at opposite corners and so the practice was for the men to take nine rafts as far down the river as possible and make connections with a north bound passenger train; then go back and bring the other nine down.

A rough board shanty nearly covered one box. One end was used as dining-room and kitchen, the other for sleeping purposes. An old elevated-oven stove was used for cooking. In the sleeping end, a liberal quantity of straw was thrown loosely on the logs on which the men slept with their clothes on. They lay in two rows with heads toward the sides of the raft and feet in the middle. I bought white bread at different points. I made brown bread, cooked potatoes, beans, tea and coffee. These constituted the whole bill of fare. The men were always sure to reach the raft on which was the shanty at meal time and at night. The rafts, when left at night or at other times, were tied to trees on the shore.

The lumber in the raft with which I shipped, was owned by an old man named Richardson from Orford, N. H., who accompanied them by train, coming aboard frequently. It came from much farther north than Orford and was to go to Holyoke, but not making a sale of it there, it was taken along to Middletown, Conn. I joined the party at the locks at what is now Wilder, just north of White River Junction, and left it at Holyoke, having hired out only to go this distance, and having become tired of it. It took the party three weeks and four days beween those two points. My pay was $1 per day while the regular men had $1.50. One "pilot" was among the men, who knew the channel of the river at all points, and he received $3 per day. An additional pilot was taken on at two different points, one called the "Geese" and the other "The Tunnel," on account of the swiftness of the water and dangerous rocks at both places. The pilots or "swift-water-men," at each place knew the rocks perfectly and they took the head of the first raft, guiding that, the rest following in exactly the same course.

When the rafts reached Bellows Falls, it took the men three days to break them up and get the 18 boxes through the locks and put them together again. One of these days was Sunday, but the river-men always had to work on Sunday the same as on other days. That day, I think there were at least 500 people on the banks of the river and the canal watching their work. There was considerable competition between the men above the dam to see which raft would get down to the canal first. As the river was broad and still for some miles, it gave them their best chance for sculling, but the movement was necessarily slow.

After getting out of the lower locks at Bellows Falls, I remember seeing a number of small dwellings near the locks on the Vermont side. From one of these an old Irishman's cow had wandered down over the broad beach into the water in which she stood up to her body. The irate wife of the old man came down and called the cow loud and long, but she would not come ashore. The woman yelled a command to her "old man" to come and drive the cow out. "The divil a bit will I do it," says he, and after soundly berating him for his neglect, she calmly gathered her skirts about her high enough to keep them from getting wet, and walked in, driving the cow home herself.



THE OUTLET FOR HIGHGATE'S FIRST MERCHANTS. BOATS FROM THE SAXE MILL PASSED THROUGH HERE TO NEW YORK CITY

(Courtesy of Charles W. Steele.)



A SCENE AT HIGHGATE BEFORE THE FLOOD, SHOWING THE OLD MILL

(Courtesy of Charles W. Steele.)

Among the men was a large and powerful half-breed Indian named Sam Flint, who stood 6 feet, 4 inches, and was very strong. He was a general favorite and in all cases when any of the boys went ashore, when it was thought there might be trouble from drinking or otherwise, they wanted Sam to go to protect them. There were many places along the river where rough crowds gathered at saloons. As the raft was leaving the eddy at Bellows Falls, Sam made a misstep and landed in the river, but was readily pulled aboard again and worked with his wet clothes on until they were dried. No other man got a ducking during the trip.

LAKE NAVIGATION

Early Sailing Craft and their Builders—A rather disproportionate amount of space has been given to the navigation of the Connecticut River, because it is an almost forgotten page of Vermont history and only possible to outline with a few thousand words. The story of navigation on Lake Champlain is a long and important one and its details are inextricably intertwined with tales whose locales are in New York and even Canada. Lake Champlain is second only to Lake Okechobee in Florida, of the largest bodies of water wholly within the United States, with a length, measured from Whitehall, New York, of 118 miles, and an average width of something more than 4 miles,—the greatest width is opposite the mouth of the Ausable River, 12 1-8 miles. Unlike the Florida Lake, it is deep and readily navigated. The discharge of Champlain's waters is through Canada by way of the Richelieu. A canal connects the lake with the Hudson River to the south, and with the Chambly Canal of the Richelieu provides continuous navigation from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence River. Both the lake and the Richelieu River have borne various names, before the first was called after its discoverer and the other after a great Cardinal.

The most appropriate titles that either bore were those given by Champlain who sometime wrote of the lake as the "Lake of the Iroquois," and of the river as the "River of the Iroquois," for both were controlled by these savage warriors until the French of Canada were compelled for the safety of their settlements to build a string of forts along the Richelieu and thus shut the gateway against Indian invasions. The series of forts, or, better, fortified settlements, were extended down around the upper end of Lake Champlain and the earliest navigation of the lake by the white races was that established between these settlements and those on the Richelieu. The chief purpose of this traffic like that of the Iroquois was to wage war; the French settlements never became large enough to make their commercial use of the lake amount to very much. It is true that the great Swedish naturalist wrote, in 1749, of visiting the

Champlain region by means of a "yacht" making regular trips between St. Johns and Fort Frederic. He also mentioned that three kinds of boats were built for use on these waters; bark boats, canoes, hollowed out of white fir; and bateaux, large and flat bottomed scows. But the yacht he traveled on was quite evidently the first sailing vessel to be used on Lake Champlain, and it was only a few years later that the French abandoned their settlement upon its shores. After the English had taken possession of Canada (1760) grants of land were made by the British authorities on both shores of the lake. Many Vermont towns were chartered during the 1760's, but the settlements were few. Philip Skene, a Scotchman, founded the first of these permanent English-speaking settlements, known then as Skenesborough, now Whitehall, and is supposed to have owned a sloop which he ran between his town and Canada.

After the Revolution—It is quite probable that there was little sail traffic on the lake until after peace had been declared with the new republic and Great Britain and an influx of immigration to the north region of the land led to the rapid upbuilding of this part of the country. Streams of settlers flowed in by way of every tributary of Lake Champlain, for the waterways were the highways of the pioneers and Lake Champlain, particularly in the winter, was one of the finest roadways in all the new land. The old Indian trails across Vermont, never far from the streams, again sounded to the movement of men, but the purpose now was one of peace. It was not long before foresighted men began to realize that better modes of transportation were required, and that the lake would become the great highway north and south. In 1788, Gideon King arrived in Burlington—King Street in that city is named after him—to engage in some sort of business. Associated with Job Boynton he built two small sail craft of about eight tons burden, and started on a career which won for him the title, "Admiral of the Lake." In 1790 the partners bought two ex-war vessels and placed them on a run between Burlington and St. Johns upon the Richelieu. King built few boats himself, but he financed so many other builders and supplied so much freight to the lake vessels that he came to control the lake traffic from 1790 to after the War of 1812. Among those who were the boat builders of this period were Benjamin Boardman, a sea captain who settled on the Winooski in 1788; the Boyntons, Job and his brother; Eggleston of Essex, New York; Fittock, one of the first; Young and others. The War of 1812 stimulated boat building and scattered the shipyards, many being established at the south

end of the lake for reasons of safety. The Embargo Act which preceded that war also stimulated smuggling on the upper end of the lake and led to at least one serious affray on the Winooski River, the home of the "Black Snake" which operated in Missisquoi Bay. Two revenue men were killed, Cyrus Dean of Swanton was executed, and seven men were sent to prison. The Volstead Act was not involved in this affair!

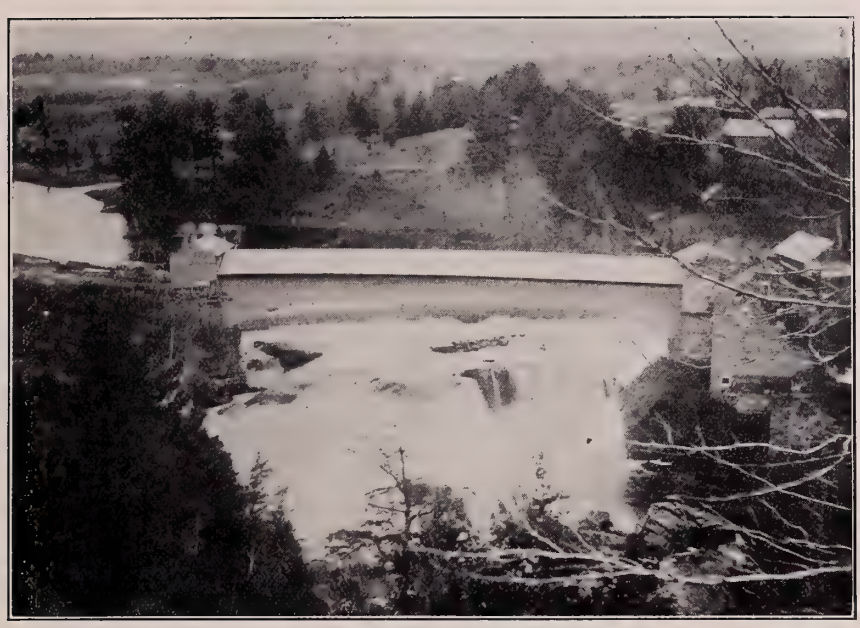
It is not necessary to repeat the tale of how Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough, at the outbreak of war in 1812, was sent to Lake Champlain to take command of the navy consisting of two gunboats, one of which was partly sunk, and two sloops; this and the story of the repeated engagements of the little fleet he managed to scrape together, have been told in earlier chapters of this work. The year 1813 was one of preparation, and by 1814 the shipyards were feverishly busy turning out war craft as fast as possible. Records were made in speed of production. One hundred and ten men cut and sent lumber for three ships. The "Saratoga" was launched forty days from the time her woodwork was standing timber. The keel of the "Eagle" was laid on July 23 and the ship launched on August 11, and outfitted, on August 27, she joined the American fleet. The "Saratoga" and "Eagle" were the two largest warships of Macdonough, 734 and 500 tons, respectively, and carried 26 and 20 guns. The "Ticonderoga," next in size, had been constructed as a steamboat, but steam was considered unsafe aboard a fighting craft, so the engine was removed and the vessel rigged as a sloop. Vergennes, up the Otter Creek, was the main shipyard of the war and the headquarters of the Commodore. The battle of Plattsburg Bay, September 11, 1814, determined for all time, it is hoped, the supremacy of the United States, on Lake Champlain.

The war did two things for Vermont; it left a large number of sailing vessels on the lake to be converted to commercial uses, and Vermonters had been taught, if they needed such instruction, how to construct vessels and had there numerous "yards" in which the shipbuilding industry could be carried on. From 1825 to 1845 were the high days of sailing craft on Lake Champlain. Steamers had been introduced but could not compete with sail in cheapness of cargo carrying, not often in speed. Some of the best known sailing craft of this period were the "Daniel Webster," the "Henry Clay," the "Montgomery," the "General Scott," the "Lafayette," the "Hercules," the "Billow" and the "Water Witch." Among the famous captains were numbered Allen, Bush, Chamberlain, Price, Stoughton, and Tisdale. The Lake Champlain Canal from Whitehall, at the head

of the Lake to Waterford, on the Hudson River, was opened to traffic on October 8, 1823. The canal boat "Gleaner," built at St. Albans, and owned in that town, was the first boat to pass through the new waterway. The Chambly Canal, around the rapids of the Richelieu River, was completed in 1843 after several attempts at construction. These made it possible to load a cargo at Montreal and carry it to New York City, if desired, without transshipment. There had been several canal boat companies organized and doing a fair business prior to the rather late construction of the Chambly Canal. There was a revival in the canal transport trade with the opening of the longer route. Follett and Bradley of Burlington, in 1841, founded the Merchants' line of barges equipped with sails, to convey products from Canada or the lake directly to New York City, thereby saving several days' transit. The line was immediately successful and as many as twenty super-canal boats were employed in this service. Other canal boat companies, such as the New York and Canada, were formed by Smith and Wilkins of Burlington, but the railroads were built along the shore of the lake and through the interior of Vermont by 1853-54, and marked the beginning of the end of the canal boat as a means of speedy transportation, while upon the lake steam was superseding sail as a source of power. From birch-bark to battleship, these were changes in the sail navigation of Lake Champlain within three generations of men.

The World's Second Commercially Successful Steamboat—The history of navigation on Lake Champlain is remarkable for three unique features: The second commercially practical steamboat in the world was used upon it; the oldest steamboat company in the world in operation today maintains a regular line of boats; and, until a week before this was written, the oldest steamboat captain in the world was in active command of one of the vessels of the above-mentioned company. A year after Fulton's "Clermont" made its memorable trip up the Hudson River the "Vermont" was built at Burlington, and made its maiden trip in June, 1809, upon Lake Champlain. The steamboat was put on a regular run from Whitehall to St. John in Canada, and although capable of making but five miles an hour, was a success and remained in service for a number of years. The "Vermont" is usually written of as the second successful steamboat on the "globe," a claim sometimes denied. Any controversy upon the subject is apt to be caused by a lack of definition of the words used than over the fact.

There were many "successful" predecessors of the "Vermont";



THE OLD BRIDGE AT HIGHGATE

(Courtesy of Charles W. Steele.)



THE BRIDGE AT THE FALLS, HIGHGATE

(Courtesy of Charles W. Steele.)

the pages of history record accounts of numerous steam driven boats years before the "Clermont" churned the surface of the Hudson. Tomás Gonzales claimed that one Blasco de Garay had a paddle-wheel boat in operation at Barcelona in 1543. David Rumsey patented a boat engine in 1618 and again in 1630. In 1775, the Marquis de Jouffroy is said to have run a paddle-wheel boat on the Saône for sixteen months. There are other like facts concerning the premiership in the building of steamboats. The facts in the case are, that there was no steam engine suitable for boat use until Watts invented one in 1769, and it was really not until he created the double acting engine in 1782 that conditions were suitable in the practical use of steam as a propelling agent on the water. Inventions have many precursors, and when the successful ones are evolved they seem to arrive in droves. Vermont, by proxy, shared in the production of the first American "successful application of steam to the propulsion of vessels through water." This was the work of John Fitch, a Connecticut Valley man, who started building steamboat engine models in 1785, and the next year put his first crude craft upon the Delaware River. After constructing a number of boats of increasing larger size, all of which would go, but not fast enough, he launched the successor to the "Perseverance" in 1790, which, joy to relate, made eight miles an hour, and was run as a passenger boat between Philadelphia and Burlington, New Jersey. Fitch's boats were driven by a series of paddles, having a stroke something like those used in a canoe.

Captain Samuel Morey was a New Hampshire man who lived the later years of his life in Fairlee, Vermont, where he died in 1843. His experiments with the steam propulsion of water craft began in the high year of Fitch's triumph, 1790, and while his aim was to improve the steam engine, he succeeded in making the first American steamboat to be driven by paddle wheels. His experimental water was the Connecticut between Fairlee, Vermont, and Orford, New Hampshire. In 1792 or 1793 he launched a boat just big enough to contain the mechanism required and two people and negotiated the river against the current at the rate of two miles an hour. He constructed stern wheels and side wheels of the paddle variety, which worked well. One of his craft made a trip on Long Island Sound with the brothers Livingston aboard; Fulton was a confidant of his ideas and results. Morey claimed, and with justice, that he had "actually succeeded, so that there was nothing wanting to carry out this mode of navigation into effect but pecuniary means," and

that it was "peculiarly hard" that "the originator of these improvements by which Messrs. Livingston and Fulton were enabled principally to succeed, should have had his rights overlooked and himself excluded from the very waters (New York) where many of his experiments were made." Morey felt, to the end of his life, that he had been robbed of the honors and emoluments of his invention. He died a broken-hearted man; tradition has it that the hull of his first boat lies sunk beneath the waters of Fairlee Pond, which now bears the name of the illustrious inventor, Lake Morey. In the rooms of the Vermont Historical Society, at Montpelier, may be seen the model of the engine of the first American steamboat propelled by paddle wheels.

We have wandered rather far afield, or may be "at sea," in this discussion of two of the "firsts" in the creation of a successful steamboat. Returning to the "Vermont," perhaps sufficient caution will be manifest if she be named as the second boat in the world which was commercially successful in maintaining a regular service. But even this must be said with bated breath, for does not our neighboring Province to the north claim this honor for the "Accommodation," the first steamer launched in Canada, and placed on the run between Montreal and Quebec in the same year that the "Vermont" sailed out of Whitehall? It seems likely that the "Vermont" got up steam before its Canadian competitor for honors. It is certainly true that the "Vermont" was the larger and faster boat. The Lake Champlain vessel was 120 feet long by 20 feet wide; the "Clermont" was 100 feet long by 12 feet wide; the "Accommodation" was 85 feet over all with a beam of 16 feet. The "Vermont" could make five miles an hour, if weather conditions were not too unfavorable; the Canadian boat could average a like speed with the current of the mighty St. Lawrence to help it along. It had to be towed up stream by oxen as it approached Montreal. With all these boats, good fortune was one of the requirements for a reasonably speedy trip.

The "Vermont" was scheduled to leave St. Johns at 8 o'clock every Saturday morning, to pass Cumberland Head about five in the afternoon, to arrive at Burlington the following morning, to leave there at 9 A. M. and to arrive at Whitehall at 12 o'clock Sunday night. This allowed thirty-nine hours for the run, but passengers were warned that the time might vary a few hours. A second-hand engine of twenty horse-power was the means of propulsion, and it seemed to have the faculty of breaking down at the most inauspicious times. At its best, the power was not sufficient to keep up with the

fastest of the sailing craft, and a favorite amusement of the sloop captains was to jib back and forth in front of the laboring "Vermont." The passenger arrangements were very elaborate, for there were two cabins, one for the ladies, another of twice the size for men. Servants were supposed to sleep on the floor. There was a single washroom, admittance to which was in the order in which the passenger had paid his or her fare; nor was anyone allowed to remain longer than ten minutes. It might be well if our Pullman authorities were to take a course in the ancient history of the passenger traffic!

In October, 1815, the second-hand engine gave up the ghost, and in doing it wrecked the "Vermont" near the Isle aux Noix in the Richelieu River. But this was not until she had proven her worth and the feasibility of steam navigation on Lake Champlain. A company was formed, headed by such men as C. P. Van Ness, Moses and Guy Catlin, of Burlington; Amos W. Barnum, of Vergennes, and several others from New York, as the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company, a charter being secured in 1813 from the New York Legislature. The first steamer built by the company, 1813-14, was taken for war purposes by Macdonough, and, without engine, was turned into a sloop-of-war, called the "Ticonderoga." In 1814, another steamer was started, the "Phoenix," which was put in service the next year. During the year 1815, the company was granted a monopoly of the steam navigation of the lake, but the act was declared unconstitutional. The "Champlain" was built that same year; in 1818, the "Congress" was put into commission, these being the first of a long list of steamers which had plied the lake without a break on into the present century.

The Careers of the Early Steamers—The "Vermont" was lost because a connecting-rod failed to stay connected and plunged through the bottom of the boat. The engine was recovered and placed in the "Champlain," but was so lacking in power as to prove valueless. The power plant of the "Phoenix" was next installed, but only increased the speed about a half, and six miles an hour was not fast enough at a time when men were beginning to hurry. Still later a new engine was purchased and the "Phoenix" was made capable of scooting along at the very satisfactory pace of eight miles an hour. By 1817 she was engaged in a twice-a-week round trip between Whitehall and St. Johns, but burned, early in the season, while lying at the Whitehall wharf.

The "Phoenix" had a boiler and engine coming from the Hudson River boat, "Perseverance," a rival of the "Clermont," driven

from the river by the exclusive privilege of navigating that stream given to Livingston and Fulton. The "Phoenix" was one of the larger steamers of her day, 146 feet long with a beam of 27 feet and a depth of hold of 9 feet 4 inches; the engine was rated at forty-five horse-power. A canvas awning was stretched over the main deck. Below were cabins for ladies and gentlemen, handsomely furnished, and in charge of Sion E. Howard, later a prominent business man of Burlington, as steward. The boat was also provided with a small state room, a smoking room, a barber shop, a kitchen and a pantry, a captain's office and a baggage room. The deck was not fitted up for the use of passengers. The fare from Whitehall to St. Johns, including meals, was ten dollars. On September 5, 1819, the "Phoenix" caught fire while between Providence Island and Colchester Point. It was one o'clock in the night, and the passengers fled from their berths to escape in the two boats carried. Eleven were left on board, and although everything possible was done to rescue them, six were drowned. John Howard, the father of the steward, was one of those who escaped, and with himself saved a bag containing $8,000 of the Bank of Burlington, of which Mr. Howard was then messenger. Some one, taking advantage of the confusion, stole the bag, and since only one of the rescued passengers was not to be found, a search was made, and the missing man—and the thief—was overtaken at Plattsburg and forced to surrender the money.

Another "Phoenix" arose, if not from its ashes, at least from a shipyard, in 1820, and with the "Congress," already mentioned, was placed on the Whitehall-St. Johns run, the fare now being six dollars. The engine of the original "Phoenix" was installed in the new, it coming, as we have seen, from a contemporary of the "Clermont." Captain Jehaziel Sherman, of the new craft, claimed that with this engine the "Phoenix" was the fastest steamer in the world.

With railroads yet to come, and canals connecting rivers and Lakes—the Champlain Canal was opened in 1823,—with the steamboat a proven speedy and sure mode of transportation, it was quite natural that the business man and speculator saw in the ownership of steamboat lines a bonanza. At any rate, the second quarter of the nineteenth century saw men everywhere scrambling to invest in steam transportation schemes. During the two decades in which this speculation flourished, the chartering of boat lines for service on Lake Champlain became quite common. Of the sail and canal boats of this period, something has been said. The history of steam navigation, for the next half century, is that of the repeated founding



THE "FRANCIS SALTUS," BUILT AT WHITEHALL IN 1844, OPERATED ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN UNTIL 1859; CONDEMNED AND DISMANTLED, HER HULL LIES AT SHELBURNE SHIPYARD

of new steamboat companies, of which one was to be made the chief survivor.

The Champlain Ferry, chartered in 1824, began the operation of the steamer "General Greene" between Burlington and Port Kent. A few years later the "Winooski" was placed on the run and the "Greene" went the way of most of the first steamboats, being converted into a sloop. The Charlotte and Essex ferry, originally a horse-driven affair, was replaced, in 1827, by the steamer "Washington," which proved too costly to run. The year 1826 saw the formation of the Champlain Transportation Company, and the St. Albans Steamboat Company, the latter being absorbed by the former in 1835. Several lines financed the building of single boats, but all of these were either sold off the lake or purchased by the Champlain Transportation Company. By 1835, this company was without a competitor, but it was but a year or two before it had a very strong rival in a New York organization and there began a fight for supremacy, which was soon over, the Champlain Transportation Company buying out its rival. Immediately another craft was built, the "Saltus," by a member of the defunct concern, for the sale of competitive craft to the older company had become a profitable business. The Champlain Transportation Company was weary of buying off competitors, and fitted up the "Saranac" for a cut-rate competition. Then began a series of lake races comparable to those on the Mississippi described by Mark Twain. There are tales of pitch barrels, bacon and lard, inflammable freight of any kind being thrown into the furnaces to make steam sufficient to beat to port the rival. Safety was sacrificed, passengers cheered wildly as their boat would haul out ahead of the other, utterly oblivious to the danger of a tied-down safety valve. The "Saltus" was evidently the faster of the two craft, but the company lost the race for the supremacy of the lake by quite a few dollars. When passenger rates on the "Saranac" were cut to fifty cents, and even to twenty-five cents, the "Saltus" had to give up the ghost, and with her went the "Montreal," which was yet on the stocks. The two boats came into the hands of the Champlain Transportation Company, and from thereafter the company's control of lake navigation was never seriously challenged. True, the Northern Transportation Line (1846) built a number of steamers, but it was interested, mainly, in the freight business. The most of its craft were powerful towboats, such as the "Ethan Allen" and the "Oliver Bascom," and the canal boat trade of the lake was dominated by the new corporation. The railroads, as they were

constructed, were inclined to compete for the lake traffic by either launching steamers of their own, or by buying those owned by the Champlain Transportation Company, but the Champlain Transportation Company survived through all this strenuous period, and is, today, the oldest steamboat concern in the world still operating.

A naming of the various steamboats built, or purchased, by the surviving company, with accounts of the career of each, would just about cover the most interesting history of lake navigation. The list is a long one, and the tales which might be told would fill a volume. The "Burlington" was constructed in 1837, and was 190 feet long, 25 feet wide, 9 feet deep, and could maintain a speed of fifteen miles an hour. In 1842, Charles Dickens made a trip on her. If for no other reason than to show that the author-visitor found at least one thing of which to approve in our "new" country, the following is quoted from his "American Notes":

> There is one American boat—the vessel which carried us on Lake Champlain from St. Johns to Whitehall—which I praise very highly, but no more than it deserves, when I say that it is superior even to that on which we went from Queenston to Toronto or to that which we traveled on from the latter place to Kingston, or I have no doubt I may add, to any other in the world. This steamboat, which is called the "Burlington," is a perfectly exquisite achievement of neatness, elegance, and order. The decks are drawing rooms; the cabins are boudoirs, choicely furnished and adorned with prints, pictures, and musical instruments; every nook and corner of the vessel is a perfect curiosity of graceful comfort and beautiful contrivance. . . . By means of this floating palace we were soon in the United States again, and called at Burlington, a pretty town.

The "United States," completed in 1847, was larger, finer, and faster than any preceding steamer. It was 240 feet long by 28 feet wide, a tonnage of 648, and propelled by a 250-horsepower engine. This was the first boat on the lakes to have staterooms on its upper deck. A speed of nearly twenty miles an hour was attained, but could not be sustained. The "R. W. Sherman," or the "America," as she soon came to be named, was built in 1851. She was both larger, handsomer, and about a mile an hour speedier than her predecessor. The "Canada," launched the next year, was still larger but not as fast. The "Adirondack" built 1867, and the "Oakes Ames" constructed the next year, the "Vermont II," put in service in 1871, were all about of a length, but each showed an increasing beam; none exceeded twenty miles in speed. The "Vermont II" probably was the lengthiest steamboat ever in the service on the lake, being 271 feet long. Its beam was very much less than the modern craft and the speed a mile or two per hour slower.

All the steamboats mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs have



WATERFRONT AS SEEN FROM AIR, BURLINGTON



MODERN STEAMER ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

gone their way, the remains of the most of them still being visible in the "graveyard of the fleet" at Shelburne Harbor. The company now retains in active service only one vessel constructed before the present century, the "Chateaugay," a Shelburne-built boat of 1888, which has been refitted as an automobile carrier and plies between Burlington and Port Kent on a forty-five minute ferry schedule. The "Vermont III" and the "Ticonderoga" maintain a daily service on the length of the lake, although covering but part of the Whitehall to St. Johns trip of the older days. The railroads were factors in cutting off a bit of either end of the journey, so that today, the traveler on the "Sea of the Iroquois" can traverse but the wider reaches of this most beautiful body of water from Montcalm Landing on the south to Plattsburg on the north. The boat the visitor takes may be the third of the series of "Vermonts" which began with the world's second successful steamer. The present "Vermont" was built in 1903, at a cost of $201,000. Her length is 262 feet, width 62 feet, tonnage 1,195, horsepower, 1,800. She can carry one person per horse power and do it at the rate of 23 miles an hour. The hull is made of steel. All of which is quite a contrast to the 120 x 20; tonnage 167 and 20 horse power of the original "Vermont," and its speed varying from five miles an hour to less than none. The "Ticonderoga" is the most recently constructed of the Champlain Transportation Company's steamers. She was built at Shelburne Harbor in 1906; has a length of 220 feet, a beam of 58, a depth of eleven. She is slightly faster than her sister craft but lacks the passenger capacity of the larger boat. A journey on either is a never to-be-forgotten pleasure.

Lake Captains and Pilots—Men are more important than machinery, and those who handled steamers more interesting than the boat they controlled. Navigators seem to be long lived, and upon Lake Champlain the custom has been for captains and pilots to remain long in the employ of the chief transportation company. Hiram Ferris of the first "Vermont" in 1809 served in a like capacity on many different craft for just one year short of a half century; John Winans, the captain of the grandfather of the lake steamboats, remained in a like position until 1815. When the second in order, the "Phoenix," was constructed, it was under the direction of Captain Jehaziel Sherman who directed the work and took command upon her launching. His son, Richard W. Sherman, had replaced him for the trip, when the "Phoenix" burned, in 1819 with the loss of six persons, himself being the last to leave. The elder Sherman was more interested in the building than in the commanding of

lake craft, although he launched and ruled a new "Phoenix" (1820) "the fastest steamboat in the world." Richard W. Sherman, whose home was Vergennes was a captain of lake steamers from 1818 to 1847, among which were the "Phoenix," "Franklin" and "Burlington." President Martin Van Buren, one of his many famous passengers, said of him, "He imagines that all the world is the deck of a ship, and he the captain." Charles Dickens wrote: "Captain Sherman, her commander, to whose ingenuity and excellent taste these results are solely attributable (the novelist makes these remarks in connection with his description of the "Burlington") has bravely and worthily distinguished himself on more than one trying occasion; not the least among them in having the moral courage to carry British troops at a time (during the Canadian rebellion of 1838) when no other conveyance was open to them. He and his vessel are held in universal respect, both by his own countrymen and ours; and no man ever enjoyed the popular esteem, who, in his sphere of action, won and wore it better than this gentleman." Captain R. W. Sherman was the grandfather of former Vice-President James S. Sherman.

The Oldest Skipper on the Lake—Other captains than the two Shermans, who saw long service on the lake were: Gideon Lathrop, from 1823 to 1850; William Anderson of Burlington, from 1831 to 1877; Henry Mayo, of the same city, from 1834 to 1884; H. G. Tisdale, of Whitehall, from 1845 to 1868; M. B. Proctor, of Burlington, from 1847 to 1872; William Flagg of Burlington, from 1852 to 1874; and F. J. Halwey of Swanton, E. J. Baldwin of Burlington and others who in a more recent period spent two decades or more in command. Elijah Root spent more than half a century as chief engineer and superintendent of construction, and LeGrand B. Cannon was president of the Champlain Transportation Company for over thirty years. But the grand-daddy of them all was Eli Barnum Rockwell who, from the days of our war with Mexico to 1928, was pilot and captain on Lake Champlain, or in excess of eighty years.

In November, 1922, Captain Rockwell was the guest of Sir Bertram Hayes, D. S. O., Commander of the "Majestic," then the largest steamship on the Seven Seas, who gave a banquet in the Captain's honor as "the oldest living navigator in America and the oldest skipper in the world." In a discussion at the banquet when many famous names were mentioned of those who have sailed aboard the "Majestic" it was brought out that there were quite a few of the great who had honored Captain Rockwell's vessels, he

recalling General Phil Sheridan, President U. S. Grant, Justices David J. Brewer and William Howard Taft, James Bryce when ambassador from England, Jules Jusserand, when ambassador from France, and Charles Evans Hughes. Tales were told by the Captain of how, on one very dark night, a passenger inadvertently walked overboard. Rockwell instantly jumped in to his rescue. After bringing him aboard in safety, the man recovering his breath asked, "Would you mind, Captain, jumping in and getting my hat?" A guest told of another time in 1868, when the Captain's quick thinking and knowledge saved the lives of one hundred and twenty-five persons. A fire broke out in the boiler room aboard the "Adirondack," of which he was then pilot. Realizing that the small stream of water available from the pump would have little effect upon the fire, he played the hose upon the exposed parts of the boiler, thereby creating such clouds of steam as to smother the flames. Only once Captain Rockwell suffered shipwreck upon the lake, but this was while he was peacefully sleeping during his watch off, and the pilot ran the "Champlain" aground. There was much of incident in the long years upon the water, but there was nought of destruction or loss of life.

Captain Rockwell—Eli B. Rockwell was born at North Hero, Vermont, February 18, 1830, and shipped as cabin boy on the schooner "Cynthia" at the age of twelve. When seventeen, he succeeded his brother as captain of the craft; and from that time on sailed and commanded various sailing vessels upon Lake Champlain until 1853. In this year he began his steamboat career as the first mate of the "Canada," and filled positions of varied character on a number of the Champlain Transportation Company's boats, being promoted to pilot in 1855, continuing as such until 1877, when there came a break. The completion of the New York & Canada Railroad about that time, led to the discontinuance of the freight service and the laying up of several of the company's boats. As a junior officer, Pilot Rockwell was one of those whose services were not needed. He built the "Reindeer" for the Grand Isle Steamboat Co. in 1881 and commanded her ten years, when he returned to his first love—a pilot of the Chateaugay—in 1891, in which capacity he served until the "Ticonderoga" was launched and put on the run in 1907 with Rockwell as pilot. In 1910 he was made Captain of the "Vermont III," of which he was in command until his death.

From 1842 to 1928,—eighty-six years a sailor on Lake Champlain, or longer than most men live! He was born a few years after

the first canal was built on the lake and before the Chambly Canal gave an outlet. He saw from the beginning the succession of modern type steamboats as they were launched one by one, and built at least one of them. He was an officer on the "Burlington" of Dickenesque fame; of the "United States," the first of the splendid steamers; and of the "Ticonderoga," latest built and speediest; of the "Vermont," the longest of them all; the "Vermont III," the largest of them all. Besides this he was an officer on most of the other vessels launched by the world's oldest steamboat company, which was but four years older than himself. He wanted to live a hundred years and there seemed every reason to expect that the vigorous, simple living skipper would not be disappointed. But a greater Pilot than this veteran steamboat Captain guided him to his last port when he died in St. Albans after a short illness, on December 4, 1928, in his ninety-ninth year.

Navigation on Lake Memphremagog—The evolution of water craft on this large inland lake throws an interesting light on the development of lake transportation and it begins with a scow built by Captain Moses Copp, the first settler of Georgeville, Province of Quebec, who built a boat large enough to convey loaded teams across the lake. The place soon became known as "Copp's Ferry." This was in the early part of the nineteenth century and in 1829 Mr. Copp built a real ferry boat and named it "Ho Boy." This was speedier than the old scow and among its masters was George W. Fogg, for many years Captain of the "Lady of the Lake." After many years' service the hull became decayed and every winter its tired frame rested on the bottom of the lake. In the spring a "bee" would be held with the volunteers armed with long handled buckets. Before night the submerged hulk would be bailed out, the leaks stopped, and after a thorough oiling the "Ho Boy" would be ready for service again. But, says William E. Bullock of Newport, from whose story of the lake these facts have been obtained, "Whiskey would stand in pailfuls all day, free to those who chose to drink, and when the vessel was empty the men were full."

The "Mountain Maid"—The greatest day that Georgeville ever saw was when the "Mountain Maid" was launched, the first steamer on the lake. Crowds came from miles around to see this event. Captain George W. Fogg and Colonel Cross of New Hampshire financed the boat and received the homage of the day. The Georgeville band paraded the streets, Mrs. Fogg christened the boat by breaking a bottle of wine over the bow and the day ended with a sumptuous



LAKE PARK, LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG

banquet at which many toasts were given and much liquor consumed. This boat carried passengers and freight through the lake until 1892 when it passed out of usefulness. The late George C. Merrill of Newport wrote the following account of the building of this boat:

"A subscription paper was started and residents along the lake, and as far as Barton, signed liberally, the whole amounting to over $4,000, of which about $3,500 was paid in. This was in the fall of 1849 and the work of construction was pushed during the winter following. The oak, of which the bow, stern and floor timbers were made, was taken from the sides of Owl's Head; the engine frame and keelsons of Norway pine from Indian Point; the white pine for hull and decks from Magog; the knees and frames of tamarack from various swamps near the lake; the rock maple for the bottom from the hillsides of Potton. Thus the whole shore of the lake contributed to the building of the steamer. All of the large timbers and planking were sawed by hand, as at that time there were no power mills fitted for sawing long timber. The hull was designed by Austin Spears of Burlington; engine and boiler by Molson at St. Mary's foundry in Montreal. The engine and boiler were brought to the lake by teams, twenty-four days being used to deliver the boiler alone."

The "Lady of the Lake"—This large, handsomely appointed steamer was the pride of the north country for nearly fifty years. Sir Hugh Allen of Montreal, one of the owners of the Allen Line of Atlantic steamers, was the principal stockholder in the enterprise and later sole owner of the boat. The boat was built on the Clyde in Scotland; her iron parts assembled in Magog, the shipwrights coming with the sections to do the work of assembling. Her first captain was Handyside, his successors being Captains Fogg, Cleveland and Bullock. George W. Smith of Newport has declared "that the smartest day early Newport ever experienced was when the iron steamer made her first trip down the lake to Newport on a beautiful October day in 1867. Newport's big hotel, the Memphremagog House, was filled with tourists; the town was crowded with visitors, and the pier was black with the restless, milling crowd. The first sight of the boat brought forth deafening cheers. As she felt her way into the harbor frequent soundings were taken to insure a safe channel. The boat's guests and officers filed over the gangplank and through a human lane up into the hotel where they were banqueted and the officers greeted as heroes. Sir

Hugh Allen had engaged for the first trip Captain Handyside, one of the captains of the Allen Line, who was most impressive in his gold lace and sea togs."

When the Boston & Maine Railroad took over the Connecticut & Passumpsic Railroad the "Lady of the Lake" was included in the deal and for many years it was patronized by excursionists. "Pinafore" and other operas of the day were given at Owl's Head by Boston artists, and under the enterprising efforts of the division passenger agent of the railroad, N. P. Lovering of Lyndonville, the boat was in daily use and sometimes glided over the placid waters under the soft moonlight while the passengers tripped the light fantastic on the spacious decks. About a dozen years ago the "Lady of the Lake" was scrapped. In later years the little steamer "Anthemis" plies the lake on a regular summer schedule, while some of the campers have private yachts. The Lake Memphremagog Yacht Club at Newport was for many years headquarters of all owners of small craft, and fast motor boats and canoes still dot the water, but there are a few old timers still left who love to talk of the good old days when

> the Mountain Maid steams by;
> Her decks well freighted with misses and dames,
> And beaux and gentlemen of sober ways,
> And snobs and roues—to the sound of music;
> Gracefully trip the light fantastic toe
> And all are merry as a marriage bell.



LADY OF THE LAKE

CHAPTER XIV

VERMONT RAILROADS

Singing through the forests,
Rattling over bridges,
Shooting under arches,
Rambling over ridges,
Whizzing through the mountains,
Buzzing o'er the vale,
Bless me! this is pleasant,
Riding on the rail.

—*JOHN G. SAXE.*

In the Norwich University Museum there is an ordinary shovel, old in style but new in appearance, with a wide silver plate inserted in the handle. On the plate is inscribed the reason for the careful preservation of this common work tool:

This shovel was one of the first two that broke ground for the Vermont Central R. R. at Northfield, Vt., January 28, 1846. It was used by Gov. Charles Paine, president of the company, and was presented by him on his departure for Texas to B. P. Cheney, Esq., in pursuance with the wish of Gov. Paine. It is presented to the company to be preserved among its archives.

Charles Paine was Governor of Vermont in 1841-42, a period of moderate expansion when many applications for charter were made by prospective railroad companies. While in the executive chair Governor Paine projected and eventually carried to its consummation the plans which eventuated in the Vermont Central Railroad, chartered October 31, 1843. This was the pioneer of the rail systems in the State; the first to be actually built and opened for traffic, and quite likely the first to be projected since it was organized in 1832.

Breaking Ground for the First Railroad—The January day, mentioned in the inscription on the old shovel, was a typical bright sunshiny day of midwinter. A spot just north of the present depot in Northfield had been cleared and thawed out in preparation for the first act in the practical construction of the railroad. It was a great occasion and the folks from all the neighboring towns had gathered to witness the event. At 11 o'clock Governor Paine and S. F. Belknap of Windsor, the contractor for the enterprise, appeared, each carrying a shovel. The Governor with uncovered head announced the great pleasure and honor of breaking ground for what was to be the

"premier" railway of Vermont, and promptly moved three shovels of earth. Mr. Belknap immediately performed a similar operation and the great event had been inaugurated. Two old cannon broke out with the beginning of a thirteen gun salute,—some accounts say a hundred charges were exploded. The participants, after much grasping of hands and the passing of congratulations, moved off to the old Northfield House, where a grand dinner was served. In his after-dinner speech, Governor Paine remarked that, "the time would come, however distant, when the Vermont Central would constitute an important link in the great chain of railroads that should connect the Atlantic with the Pacific." This was before the western plains had been opened up to settlement or the "gold rush" to California had begun. The prophecy was fulfilled by the building of the Union Pacific Railroad little more than two decades later.

Early Years of the Railroad—The agitation of the railroad question in Vermont started with the completion of the first railroad in New York (between Albany and Schenectady, September, 1831) and beginning of construction on the Boston and Lowell. A company was formed with a capitalization of one million dollars to run from the shores of Lake Champlain up the Winooski River to the Connecticut Valley, there to connect with a projected railroad from Boston. The whole interest, at this period, was to get a road to the great New England seaport, although the Champlain canal had given a splendid outlet to the productions of the western part of the State. Part of this may be due to the severe competition which held between Boston and New York as ports, a conflict in which the spoils were going to the latter city as a result of the building of the Erie and other canals. Then, too, much of the capital which was to go into the railroads of Vermont was to come from Boston. The early schemes for railways in the State went by the board when financial difficulties hit the whole of the United States; for ten years efforts to construct a Vermont road just about ceased. In the first years of the "forties" there was a revival of rail schemes. In 1843, the Vermont Central, October 31; the Champlain and Connecticut, November 1, later the Rutland railroad; the Connecticut and Passumpsic, October 27; and several other lines which never were built, all received charters from the State. Within the next half dozen years more railroads were projected and chartered in Vermont by many fold than now exist, or ever were constructed, and Vermont is a State which has many small railroads still and had many more in the past. It was the great boom period of railroading when everyone wanted them and everywhere plans were being made for them.

The canal fever which had seized hold of the nation in the early part of the century had cooled but this seemed only to make the people more susceptible to the rail disease. Transportation was the big word, and that turnpikes and canals had in succession failed to be bonanzas did not affect the hopes now centered upon the iron horse.

The Vermont Central completed a section of track from Bethel to White River Junction as the latter was to be called. The first train of three cars was run over this division of twenty-seven miles, on June 26, 1848. The event was celebrated as was fitting, of course: flags, guns, crowds and speeches. Abbott Lawrence, "Merchant Prince" and financier of Boston, with his family were aboard the train, and he spoke at Bethel. A further stretch of the line from Bethel to Roxbury was ready on September 17, 1848; from Roxbury to Northfield on October 10, 1848; from White River Junction to Windsor on February 13, 1849; from Northfield to Montpelier, June 20, 1849; from Montpelier Junction to Middlesex, August 30, 1849. A race was on with another road to see which should be the first to get into Burlington; on September 29, 1849, the road was in use from Middlesex to Waterbury; and from Waterbury to Burlington, December 31, 1849. The Vermont Central was the first Vermont railroad in nearly every respect, but it lost the race into Burlington by a few days.

Rutland Railroad—The great rival of the Vermont Central was the line incorporated November 1, 1843, as the Champlain & Connecticut River railroad. Four years later the name was changed to the Rutland & Burlington Railway Company and in 1867 to the Rutland Railroad, the name it bears today. The Champlain and Connecticut was intended to cover the territory between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut River, after the fashion of the older road, but along a course farther south in the State, the route being from Bellows Falls by way of Rutland to Burlington, the great lumber center of Vermont and one of the chief timber marts in America. Work was begun on the line a month later than it was started on the Vermont Central and completed to Burlington two weeks ahead of its rival. Both roads brought in many Irish laborers and Vermont thus received a third member of the triumvirate of Britishers who have been prominent in the development of the State, the English and the Scotch making up the larger share of its pioneers. Two years to build, and seven months to finish the laying of rails; these are two of the building records of the early road. The system was used before it was completed, stages being used at Ludlow to carry the passengers over the mountain. There was the usual celebration when the road

was completed, with some unusual features. It needed but the placing of the last spike at the summit pass of Mt. Holly to enable the trains from either direction to be linked together and Boston and Burlington were connected. There was much rejoicing at the opening of the road with the eating of much food and the drinking of many toasts all along the way. Nathan Rice of Boston, one of the promoters of the road, brought with him a bottle of salt water from Boston Harbor to mingle with the waters of Lake Champlain which was tossed into the fresh water of the lake with profound ceremony.

The effect on the spectators of the coming of the iron horse may be inferred from this paragraph from the "Bellows Falls Times," of January 14, 1849:

> The engine came up in Grand style and when opposite our village the Monster gave one of its most savage yells frightening men, women and children considerable, and bringing forth deafening howls from all the dogs in the Neighborhood.

The Vermont Central Celebration—Not to be outdone by a rival road, the Vermont Central, which had been chosen by the Boston & Fitchburg as the northwestern outlet of its road, held the top-notch celebration in Windsor in June. A train carrying three hundred passengers from Burlington and way points arrived at Windsor at noon. Another train was coming from Boston with a thousand people aboard. The Boston train arrived at 4 o'clock, and both groups gathered around the tables set by the inhabitants of that honored town. Before the day was over some five thousand were participating in the celebration, which was a climax of similar festal occasions along the line as different sections of the road were opened for traffic.

The Connecticut and Passumpsic—With the thought of building a line up the Connecticut River Valley a meeting was held at Windsor, January 20, 1836. The chairman of this meeting was Erastus Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury, who later became president of the road completed in the early "fifties." On October 31, 1843, the Legislature chartered a railroad starting from the Massachusetts line to follow the Connecticut River and the Passumpsic River to the Canadian line at Newport or Derby. In 1845 the right was secured to divide the line at the mouth of the White River, and the road north of this was named the Connecticut & Passumpsic Rivers Railroad. The section from White River Junction to Wells River was opened for traffic November 6, 1849, though a strong effort had been made

to have the first twenty-two miles of the road built on the New Hampshire side of the Connecticut. Those who issued a printed manifesto, now in the writer's possession, urged that such a plan would save from $100,000 to $150,000 and that the towns on the New Hampshire side had already pledged $100,000 towards building the road. An interesting sidelight on the great flood of 1927 appears in the second objection to building the road on the Vermont side:

> It necessitates the construction of a very expensive bridge across the White river at its mouth,—a most unsafe position for a bridge, as all acquainted with the habits of that river during a spring freshet well know.

The first train from Boston reached St. Johnsbury November 28, 1850, its arrival being greeted by ringing of bells, firing of cannon and the cheers of the people. The road was later extended to the Canadian line, and in the writer's possession are letters introducing Erastus Fairbanks to London bankers as one interested in locomotion, the object of his visit to England being to interest British capital in extending the line of the railroad from Derby Line to Sherbrooke and the larger cities of Canada.

Bonds Floated at Par—The entire cost of construction was met by the proceeds of bonds negotiated at par and the sale of capital stock. In 1850 a New York newspaper said:

> In the darkest hour of the Boston money market, by the efforts of and confidence reposed in Mr. Addison Gilmore and Mr. Erastus Fairbanks, the bonds of the Passumpsic Railroad Company were negotiated at par to such an extent as to allow the continuation of the road from Wells River to St. Johnsbury, thus accomplishing a great step in the progress toward Montreal.

Mention has been made that in the construction of the Vermont railroads it was necessary to import a large number of Irishmen, and in the excavation of the railroad at the Ingalls Hill, in Newbury, a riot broke out which ended in a tragedy. F. P. Wells, the Newbury historian, tells the tale in the "History of Newbury":

> There was a bitter feud between the men who came from the county of Connaught in Ireland and those who came from the county of Cork. The latter, who were called Corkonians had driven the former, who were known as the Fardowners, from their work on the Northern railroad in New Hampshire. The Connaught men came up to work on the Passumpsic railroad, and when the Northern road was completed, the Cork men came to work on this road, and there was soon trouble between the two gangs. Most of the men employed in the great cut at Ingalls hill were Cork men, and in the night of September 21, 1847, a party of the Connaught men went in a body to the shanties of the Cork men, threatening their lives, and attempting to break in upon them. But the Cork men had firearms, and kept their assailants at bay, who went away, threatening

to return in a week with re-inforcements. The next day, which was Monday, Michael Kelley, who was in charge of the work at Ingalls hill, secured warrants against several of the rioters, and, with Leander Quint as deputy sheriff, arrested three of them, took them to Newbury, and returned after others. On entering a shanty at the south end of Ingalls hill Kelley pointed out Patrick Gallagher, who was arrested, when a gang of six or eight men assaulted Kelley and Quint. Kelley retreated backward, was shot through the neck and instantly killed. Quint escaped. Kelley's body was stripped of his watch and money. The rioters escaped to the woods. The affair produced great excitement, the country was roused, the roads and bridges watched, and some of the men were taken. At a court held in Wells River, Michael McGinty was committed to jail without bail and three others in default of it. Some of the rioters were sent to the State prison, but no one suffered death, as it could not be proved by whom the fatal shot was fired.

A still more bitter fight occurred when the railroad bridge was built across the Connecticut River at Wells River between the New Hampshire railroads and the Connecticut and Passumpsic, the strife being to gain control of the White Mountain travel. Besides issuing injunctions and other legal processes, one company employed a small army of men to construct a dump west of the bridge, while the rival railroad had a gang just as busily engaged in digging it away. The rivalry continued after roads were built south of Wells River on both sides of the Connecticut, for in 1853 the Boston, Concord & Montreal, a New Hampshire railroad, operated a stage from Newbury to Haverhill depot, carrying passengers from Newbury to Concord, and below, for less fare than the Passumpsic Railroad charged direct from their station in Newbury.

Present Status of the Railroad—The Connecticut and Passumpsic was leased to the Boston & Lowell, January 1, 1887, and in October of that year the Boston & Maine took it over on a ninety-nine year lease. In the spring of 1926 the Canadian Pacific Railway leased the sixty-four mile strip from Newport to Wells River for thirty years. It is generally believed that this was a move on the part of the largest privately owned line in the world to eventually reach the Atlantic seaboard in one of the New England cities, Boston, Portsmouth and Portland being most prominently mentioned.

The Western Vermont Railway dates from 1845 (November 5) and was built from Bennington to Rutland, and to White Creek, New York. The Northern Railroad Company received a charter in May, 1845, to cover the territory between Ogdensburg and Rouses Point in New York. The Atlantic & St. Lawrence, with only a few miles in Vermont, was incorporated in this State, October 27, 1848. This is about the list of all the roads projected before 1850

that were actually built, and are parts of present-day systems, but includes only the smaller part of those incorporated under State laws.

Benefits to the State, Actual and Prospective—The people of that first building period believed most thoroughly in the value of what they were attempting to accomplish. They put money into work, individuals and towns mortgaged their future to promote the construction of railroads. Vermont was isolated from the other States, the best outlet for her productions being at the north through another country. The character of her farming was determined by the distance to market; crops had to be fed to cattle and pigs and driven on foot to the large cities, or, as with potatoes, made into starch and whiskey, because only in some condensed and manufactured form could they be profitably transported. The Champlain Canal of 1820 gave communications to the western part of the State and changed the whole course of the lumber trade, which was second only to agriculture in importance, from Quebec to New York. The eastern part had only the old and primitive methods of transportation, despite all efforts to make the Connecticut navigable from Vermont points. When canals seemed the only prospect of improving communications, a number of routes had been surveyed through the State. The sudden appearance of the iron horse upon the stage in the 1830's as the perfect means of joining all parts of Vermont with the larger cities elsewhere caught instant attention and allegiance. It was the coincident arrival of hard times which set back the actual construction for another decade and a half. Within three years, beginning with 1846, two hundred and fifty miles of railroad had been built in Vermont. The "coming of the cars" marked a new era in the history of the Green Mountain State.

Those who were in the thick of the affray were proud of what they were doing and making vivid speeches telling the world about it. Timothy Follett was the first president of the Rutland. At a meeting of the stockholders in January, 1848, quite a time before his road had been completed, he told them: "This enterprise in which we are engaged, gentlemen, is one of the greatest importance and interest . . . to the whole State of Vermont, to Boston, to New England and to New York. A country fertile in productions of agriculture, and rich in minerals to an unparalleled extent is penetrated by this road and rendered accessible at all seasons of the year. By it, the markets of the Atlantic are brought to our doors, and over it the tide of travel of the mighty West and Canada will find outlet to all our great towns and cities." A year and a half later, with still an unfinished line, he was proclaiming, after appropriate references

to the "spirit of our age," and the "lovers of progress in our midst," with great gusto: "And, gentlemen, how interesting to us and to all lovers of progress is the great truth now being developed that Vermont is to participate fully in the enjoyment of those great enterprises which distinguish this age of the world. Ten years since and the wildest enthusiast did not venture to dream of the probability of ever penetrating our borders with a railroad, and now scarcely a county in our State but enjoys, or shortly will enjoy, the untold, the unconceived benefits of this modern invention."

After these and further bursts of eloquence, Timothy Follett turns to the prosaic details of railroad building and the more important question of "how to get the funds," which were being disbursed faster than they could be secured. It is interesting to read "that for all the cast iron work required in the construction of the road and for its car furniture, we shall not be required to depart from our line. The iron manufactured at Brandon and Pittsford," and "manufactured there we are to be supplied with our rail chairs and all other necessary cast iron appendages." And again, "enterprising individuals have recently erected an extensive manufactory at Brandon for the construction of railroad cars of all descriptions, with whom we have contracted for 190 freight cars, 40 gravel cars and 8 baggage cars." The Taunton Locomotive Company were to supply eight engines of eighteen tons each for passenger service, so that it is quite evident that the first passengers were not obliged to ride in the 190 freight cars. Whatever there may have been of grandiloquent optimism about the early railroad promoters, they accomplished much. Within three years after the opening of the first two roads from Burlington to Boston there were other roads constructed from White River Junction to St. Johnsbury, from Essex Junction to Rouse's Point, from Rutland to Bennington, to Whitehall and to Troy, New York.

The Lull in Construction—Things were moving too fast to continue. In the race to get ahead of each other the railroads ran out of breath, and money. Less than four years after running the first train, the Rutland was in the hands of the second mortgage bondholders, and the Vermont Central was being operated by the trustees for the holders of the first mortgage bonds. The history of the latter-named road for the next forty years is a series of changes, receivers, foreclosures, reorganizations, until it became the Central Vermont, incorporated November 16, 1898. The Rutland (it was the Champlain & Connecticut at first) was the Rutland & Burlington Railroad in 1847, and was reorganized in June, 1867, and the property leased to the Vermont Central in December, 1870, partici-



THE STINEHOUR HOTEL, HIGHGATE

(Courtesy of Charles W. Steele.)



BIRTHPLACE OF THE POET, JOHN G. SAXE, AT HIGHGATE

(Courtesy of Charles W. Steele.)

pating in the further receiverships of that road. The Western Vermont was sold under foreclosure proceedings on August 1, 1865. The Northern Railroad, after being reorganized several times, went into the hands of a receiver. The Vermont Valley passed into the hands of trustees in May, 1865. The Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad was leased on August 5, 1853, for 999 years to the Grand Trunk. The Connecticut & Passumpsic Rivers Railroad was extremely slow in the building and was eventually leased to the Boston & Lowell. There were too large capitalizations of these early roads; the Connecticut & Passumpsic, for example, was capitalized at two million dollars. With the competitive and extravagant construction even the great sums invested were not enough. Road building was very much in advance of the development of the industries upon which their success was dependent. Erastus Fairbanks very early realized what was the trend of affairs. In his message to the Legislature, 1852, he said:

> The construction of Railroads, which has been prosecuted with such unparalleled energy and perseverance during the last few years has tended to develop the resources and capabilities of the State to an extent beyond the most sanguine expectations of the projectors of these enterprises, and the system may be regarded as one of the greatest benefactors of the age. Thus far, however, the investments for such construction have not yielded a fair income to the stockholders, many of whom have been subjected to no little pecuniary embarrassment by the losses they have sustained.

A few years later (1857) Governor Fletcher drew the attention of the Legislature to the fact that railroading had not only become unprofitable, but the mortgage holders were unable, under the present laws, of rehabilitating the roads seized by them. An attempt was made to pass an act which would make it legal for the majority of the bondholders to rehabilitate the lines which had come into their possession. Conditions had become so thoroughly bad that the first Railroad Commissioner was appointed in 1855 by the judges of the Supreme Court, "to examine and report upon the pecuniary condition and the financial management of the railroads." This, by the way, was the beginning of the present system of railroad control. The Commissioner was given more and more power, and his duties became so many and burdensome that, in 1886, a Board of Railroad Commissioners was appointed, to which was given the general supervision of the railroads. In 1909 this board was replaced by the Public Service Commission, which has supervision over all public utility corporations.

During the Civil War—The construction of railroads almost

ceased in face of inability of the investors receiving returns on their money. For that matter, it is something of a marvel that great stretches of rusted rails do not mark the right-of-ways through the State, for the history of railroading is one succession of setbacks brought about by conditions hardly to be foreseen or obviated. During the Civil War period and beyond, the chartering of new, usually short, lines went merrily on. Many of these never went beyond the paper stage; many of them were years in the building. Among those chartered during this period, or a little earlier, were the Maine Central, organized October 28, 1862, in three States and two Canadian Provinces, the fourteen miles in Vermont being built many years later; the New York & Vermont Railroad, chartered November 3, 1865; the Missisquoi Railroad, chartered November 14, 1867, which opened a part of the line (28.85 miles) July 1, 1872; the Woodstock Railroad, started April 21, 1868, though incorporated October 30, 1862, and opened for travel September 30, 1875; the Montpelier & White River, incorporated November 8, 1867, and organized August 23, 1871.

The Montpelier & Wells River, extending 38.2 miles from the State capital to the village on the Connecticut River, was incorporated November 6, 1867, and opened its line November 24, 1873. There is but one straight mile of track on this tortuous road, located in Plainfield, and now operated by a Vermont directorate and Vermont officials.

To Horace Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury, belongs the credit of creating what is now the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad. When completed it was known as the Vermont Division of the Portland & Ogdensburg Railroad, and represented a consolidation of the Essex County Railroad, chartered in 1864; the Montpelier & St. Johnsbury, chartered in 1866, and the Lamoille Valley, incorporated in 1867. Portland was to be the Atlantic port of the new road, the first attempt to break away from Boston. Popular opinion was against building a railroad through the White Mountain Notch, and the promoters had strenuous opposition from Legislatures and rival railroads. Capitalists in Portland were interested in the enterprise, and Mr. Fairbanks convinced the New Hampshire Legislature of the added advantage to the towns in that State, and on December 22, 1869, Thaddeus Fairbanks broke the first ground in St. Johnsbury of the right-of-way. Captain Walter Wright, the oldest man in town and then in his ninety-third year, threw the second shovel of dirt, and salutes were fired and the band played as the first wheelbarrow of dirt was dumped along the line. Over two hundred men

and women attended a banquet in the evening, where, in the course of the speechmaking, Bliss N. Davis, of Danville, declared that the ladies present would yet live to sniff the tea fresh from China, on its way to Queen Victoria's table via St. Johnsbury and Danville. Seven and one-half years later the last rail was laid in the town of Fletcher. Superintendent A. B. Jewett handed President Horace Fairbanks the silver spike that united the rails of the line, about 125 miles long, from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain. John B. Brown, of Portland, said his city had put three million dollars into a railroad enterprise that they regarded as an impossibility when first proposed to Portland capitalists ten years before, and Judge Luke P. Poland, of St. Johnsbury, told the thousands present that they had waited for the completion of the road almost as long as the children of Israel waited for the Promised Land.

Later Developments—The heavy expenses of the line exceeded the income and the bonds and stock rapidly depreciated. Following litigation, a receivership was ordered, and later a reorganization was effected under the name of the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad. This was in 1880, and some years later the Boston & Lowell obtained the majority of the stock. When the Boston & Maine took over the Boston & Lowell in 1887 the Lake Road, so-called, was included in the deal. This subsidiary never paid expenses, and in 1924 the indebtedness was nearly five and one-half million dollars. In December of that year the Boston & Maine turned its management over to a Vermont directorate, many of whom are also on the board of directors of the Montpelier & Wells River Railroad, and the accounts of the road are no longer kept in red ink.

To the Present Century—Vermont shared in the general disturbances of the Civil War and the post-reaction. The industries, particularly farming, produced greater values, but not increased productions. Prices were abnormally high, and once peace had been restored began to decline. Investments, particularly in farms, at inflated prices proved next to worthless. It was no time for a poor man, and the veterans, as a rule, had little wealth. Many took up soldier's rights in western lands; others could not settle down in their former homes. Vermont was an agricultural State and suffered greatly from the aftermath of war. From 1860 to 1870 the State made but little gain in population; from 1870 to 1880 the gain was very much reduced; from 1880 to 1890 there was practically no increase in population. All these conditions affected the transportation means badly. There was comparatively little building of

railroads; those already constructed could not be kept in repair. The outstanding feature of railroading in Vermont between the end of the Civil War and the present century was consolidations of already built lines. In the whole of New England the increase in railroads between 1871 and 1881 was only 1,100 miles, a smaller amount and a smaller percentage of growth than that of any other section of the United States. The characteristic consolidations were not merely those forced upon a set of railroads because they were failing to pay interest upon their capital, but those brought about by a nation-wide competition, carried on by fair means or foul, to gain control of extensive trunk lines with feeders. Each group of speculators hoped to crush their competitors before their own finances were exhausted. Vermont railroads were mixed up in all this; from the beginning there had been a race to see who should lay the first set of rails across the State. It was not until the "seventies" that attention was turned to north and south lines—except as branches of east and west trunk lines—and the start was made on the system by which the western half of Vermont was to be somewhat separated in interests and contacts from the eastern section. More and more the railroads of Vermont have become parts and subsidiaries of larger trunk line roads interested in developing long hauls from distant places. The State has benefited indirectly, in that fine roadbeds have been maintained and the productions of the world have been made accessible. Prior to the present century the drain of these consolidated lines upon the population of Vermont has outweighed the advantages derived.

Looking on the brighter side of the matter: At the close of the nineteenth century Vermont had about one thousand miles of steam railroads and seventy-five miles of electric roads, with construction work reviving, particularly in the building of electric lines. The capitalization of the parts of the steam roads within the State, together with their funded debt, amounted to between $35,000,000 and $40,000,000. Probably 5,000 were employed by the railroads. Every county had one or more railroads; out of 248 cities and towns less than 100 were without stations. Fares were as low as in any other part of the country, and freight rates as reasonable. Nearly every labor-using industry was being developed, notably those working in granite, marble, wood products and slate, all natural resources as will be noted. The stationary population of 1880 to 1890 was changing to one expanding reasonably well. Many local railroads, both steam and electric, were being projected or built to give outlets to increasing productions.

Twentieth Century Changes—The railroads faced the new century with a changed policy—consolidation for the salvation of self, instead of murder of the other fellow. The line-up of the railroads which now survive in the State, dates from the 1900 period and the few years preceding it. The Central Vermont was incorporated November 16, 1898, and is now made up of the roads which had combined to form that system before 1898, with: The Burlington & Lamoille Valley Railroad Company, corporation chartered in 1899; the West River Railway, incorporated in 1905; the Bethel Granite Railroad, opened in 1905.

The Rutland Road was under lease to the Central Vermont until 1896, and after being turned over to its owners that year began joining to itself the lines which now form the system, including: the Western Vermont, leased in 1900 and consolidated with it July 30, 1901; the Rutland Canadian, one of the finest bits of construction from Burlington to the Canadian and New York borders, opened in 1900 and added to the Rutland in 1901; the Lebanon Springs Railway, which after various reorganizations was absorbed by the Rutland in 1902; and the Northern Railway, an old line consolidated with the Rutland in 1901.

The Boston & Maine is the result of consolidations, the most of which were made prior to the present century with the exception of the Barre and Chelsea. The Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National Railways are roads of recent times as regards Vermont, although the Canadian Pacific leased the Newport & Richford, June 19, 1881.

Of the independent short lines, the White River Railroad, chartered in 1876, celebrated its completion only a few days before the opening of the present century; was reorganized in 1902, and compelled to shut down by order of the Railroad Commission during a period of thirteen months from September, 1906. The Manchester, Dorset & Granville Railroad and the Deerfield River Railroad are two short industrial roads opened during the last quarter century, there being several of slightly greater age.

Electric Street Railways—The growth of electric street railways throughout the country led some railroad operators to believe that a ruinous competition faced them. But this did not prove to be the case in Vermont where in the twentieth century street railways have been abandoned in Barre, Brattleboro, Bellows Falls, Montpelier, Rutland and St. Albans. Most of these lines were forced out of business by the growing competition of the motor bus, and as these lines are being written the papers announce the purchase of the Burling-

ton trolley lines by the Appleyard bus interests. Besides the Burlington traction lines there are now in operation in the State the Springfield Terminal Company, which owns the toll bridge across the Connecticut River; the Mt. Mansfield line from Stowe to Waterbury; the Vermont Company operating lines in Bennington. The mileage confidently expected by the street railway promoters to be in operation in the first decade of this century never materialized. Neither did the trolley system ever come to be a serious competitor of the steam railroads in Vermont except to improve the service supplied by the steam roads. What may be the future use of electricity by the Vermont railroads, following the enormous hydro-electric developments, who can prophesy? One railroad, the Central Vermont, is operating trains on some of its short lines with gasoline-electric engines that give most satisfactory service.

The War Period and Its Aftermath—The Vermont railroads were taken over by the National Government, as was true elsewhere, during the World War period. The lines suffered from over use and abuse as was to be expected. Some effort was made by the Washington authorities to either rehabilitate the roads before turning them back to their original owners, or to pay for damages done. Whatever may be one's views of the Government ownership of railroads, there were certain valuable lessons taught by the extreme consolidation of the war period, and that lesson was conveyed to the railroads by the National Transportation Act of 1920 which provided for the merging of the railroads of the United States into a few great systems. During the eight years which have passed since that date there has been little done in the way of actual voluntary consolidation in New England, the practice being to keep hold on the monopoly created some years ago by which New England has been kept isolated from the other parts of the United States. There is even a tendency to increase this isolation by grouping the New England roads into a system, or systems, which decrease rather than increase the number of outlets of the region, or multiply connections with transcontinental lines.

The Vermont railroads have had to take matters in their own hands, and in their affiliations have broadened and extended the range of their shipping facilities. The Rutland, in the face of a movement to tie it up with the eastern New England division, retained its place with the New York Central with outlets to New York City in the south and Canada to the north.

The Canadian Pacific has already extended its vast system

through Vermont as far as Wells River, and as intimated in this chapter undoubtedly has the Atlantic seaboard for its New England terminus. The Canadian National has been the majority owner for some years of the Central Vermont, thereby controlling the road. All of which is held in horror by those who think that everything in Vermont should be owned by Vermonters. This is a short-sighted and provincial view and no longer held by our legislators. In 1926 the Legislature opened the way for the Canadian Pacific to push down the Connecticut Valley. In 1919 the Legislature approved of the foreclosure by the Canadian National of its mortgages upon the Central Vermont properties. After the flood the latter road went into receivers' hands and the Legislature of 1929 again showed its friendliness to a foreign corporation by passing without a dissenting vote an act allowing the Canadian National to take over the reorganized Central Vermont system after its foreclosure. The Canadian National Railways is the largest railroad in the world, and all the far-reaching connections of that line are open to Vermonters and their industrial and other productions. The Canadian Pacific owns twenty thousand miles of track leading to many parts east and west, has steamship lines on both the Atlantic and Pacific, and needs only a New England seaport to round out its facilities. Vermont profited in a most unexpected way when the flood put all its rail lines out of commission. Were it not for the New York Central's aid the Rutland would have been far longer delayed in repairing its wrecked lines. The Canadian Pacific, a heavy loser by the flood, quickly came to the rescue with thousands of men to restore its leased line in Vermont. The Canadian National was equally prompt and besides helping materially and heroically on the Central Vermont system also hastened the reconstruction of the Montpelier & Wells River road. Vermont railroads by themselves could never have constructed in so short a time what was wiped out in a few hours and the capital and workmen of the out of State corporations established a broken down transportation service in record time.

The Flood and the Railroads—The story of the great flood of November, 1927, has been told in other chapters of this work, but that part of it which concerns the railroads will bear repeating. Never in the history of railroading has there been so great a disaster. In a single night the transportation systems of the State were broken in a thousand places, communications with the outside world, not only by rail but of all sorts, were severed. It was the radio which eventually informed other States that Vermont was still on the map although enormously damaged. How long she should suffer and how quickly

a recovery could be made, depended largely upon how fast the railroads could reconstruct their lines. And some of the trackage of the principal roads was as sadly cut in pieces as a worm which had become entangled in a lawn-mower. Bridges by the hundred were gone. There were places where not only the roadbed had been washed away but the very site of the track had disappeared. Tremendous landslides had covered other parts; the subsiding flood left all sorts of débris piled high on the rights-of-way. The railroads were paralyzed, the property loss was appalling, and the work of rehabilitation tremendously disconcerting, expensive and apparently one of long duration. But miracles were performed; help was called in from the remotest parts of the thousands of miles trackage owned by the systems of which the Vermont roads were parts. Employes from the highest official to the trackmen worked like heroes. Labor organizations cancelled all privileges, and the Government allowed Canadian laborers to aid in the work. All along the lines aid was given to hurry the tremendous task of reconstruction. Vermont was exceedingly fortunate in having her transportation systems allied with the great railroads of America; the tale of rehabilitation would have been far different had the main lines been local affairs. As it turned out Vermont had some of her railroads—such as the Rutland—in operation within twenty days, while all the main lines had been opened before three months had passed.

Losses and Rehabilitation—The Rutland recovered sufficiently to carry on a regular schedule before three weeks had gone, but not because it had been outside the field of damage. There were as many breaks in the trackage as there are days in the year. Forty landslides complicated conditions greatly. The worst disaster was the passing out of the three-span 450-foot bridge over the Winooski River at Burlington. The New York Central sent men and materials and built a trestle to replace this bridge, and did it in just two weeks. There was a 25,000-yard fill to be made near Proctor with long trestles in addition and another fill of like dimensions for East Clarendon where the trackage had to be relocated, so deep was the washout. These are but the highlights of the picture. The cost of restoration to the Rutland was more than $600,000 and the loss in operating revenues was estimated at $315,000. This latter figure is significant when it is realized that this system was out of commission for a lesser period than any other.

Some of the shorter lines suffered even more severely in proportion to their length. The White River Railroad and the West



NEAR ESSEX JUNCTION ON WINOOSKI RIVER



FALLS OF THE LAMOILLE RIVER FROM BRIDGE AT MILTON

River Railroad were put completely out of business, so much of their trackage was affected, but some bridges were saved. The Woodstock line was badly damaged by slides and washouts, chiefly at the "Hogback." The Montpelier & Wells River Railroad had its entire mileage affected. The yards at Montpelier and Barre were practically ruined; at Montpelier the engine house had eight feet of water in it and all but three locomotives were put out of commission. Seven bridges were ruined; there were forty-three washouts. Connections with other railroads were broken, and this was the avenue of communication between the stricken Capital City and the outside world. Within a month the Montpelier & Wells River road was being operated in full and carrying more traffic than usual. It was also giving aid to the Central Vermont as a way of approach to the middle of the work of rebuilding its lines. The cost of restoration to the Montpelier & Wells River Railroad was estimated at $284,000, the lost revenue of a month not being included.

St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain—The story of the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad is another of almost the entire trackage being affected between St. Johnsbury and Swanton. "About 160 washouts, 12 bridges, 6 culverts and 24 landslides" is the summary of the havoc wrought by the flood. Work was begun at both ends of the line and the entire road was in operation before the new year, and $234,000 had been spent. A like sum was expended in the completion of the restoration. This railroad is peculiarly a Vermont institution and was voted a loan of $300,000 by the Legislature. It is worthy of note that there was no misplaced confidence in the integrity of the road, for within a year it was making payments on the loan.

The Boston & Maine operates in several States; in Vermont it serves the Connecticut Valley region, where in the lower reaches the damage was not great. In New England 946 miles, or almost half its trackage, was either under water or affected by landslides or washouts. The financial loss to the system was estimated to exceed $2,500,000. The Canadian Pacific met with flood losses in the Province of Quebec and Vermont totaling more than $1,000,000. Sixty miles of its roadway in Vermont from Newport to Wells River suffered severely and tied up traffic for more than a month. "The total track actually damaged on each division was as follows: Lyndonville, 25 miles; Drummondville, one mile at 25 locations; Orford, two miles at 45 locations; Newport, two and one quarter miles at 35 locations; Sherbrooke, one-fourth mile at 8 locations. At Passumpsic one washout required trestle to cross it 450 feet in length." President Beattie

quite unexpectedly was compelled to travel over his own line just after the flood. He wrote later, "If I had not been there and had not seen but only knew of the results of the flood, I could not have believed that so much loss could have been occasioned within such a short space of time."

Central Vermont Railroad—No railroad of equal length ever suffered so great a disaster from the forces of nature as did the Central Vermont in the November deluge. "Between Burlington and White River Junction, embracing more than three-fourths of its mileage in Vermont, its trackage, roadbed, bridges, culverts, yards, stations and equipment were damaged to the extent of more than $3,000,000." To state the matter statistically, including the work of rehabilitation: The number of miles of track destroyed by the flood was 253; number of bridges carried away or destroyed, 54; material required to restore the damaged roadbed, 1,296,000 cubic yards. The force and equipment employed on reconstruction work were: 2,500 laborers, 150 bridgemen, 150 other skilled men, 6 steam shovels, 400 ballast cars, 150 boarding cars, 25 work-trains, 50 auto trucks and a like number of teams, just to mention the more outstanding points. The cost of the work was estimated at $2,600,000 but exceeded that amount in actual practice. The Central Vermont was reopened for traffic February 4, 1928; what was the loss in revenue during these three months has never been estimated or stated.

So heavy were the damages and losses of the railroad the company went into a voluntary receivership, that the Canadian National Railways, the chief stockholder and principal creditor, might be protected in whatever it did by way of reconstruction. Even before this was done the Canadian National had mobilized its forces and equipment, called its best men to the scene of the disaster, without which the reconstruction of the Vermont railroad would have been impossible. Said Hon. Judge John W. Redmond, one of the receivers of the company, "I commend very highly the generous assistance it has given in this crisis. . . . It has advanced the Central Vermont $12,000,000 on unsecured book accounts . . . offered without moral or legal obligation to pay the $25,000 annual pension fund and made a loan of $2,600,000 for reconstruction purposes. . . After the receivers took over the road they realized that they must have money to continue this work of reconstruction. They first had to get permission from the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue receivership certificates and negotiate a loan of $4,000,000."

There were receptions and celebrations reminiscent of the olden

days when the first train went over the renewed line. Governor Weeks and Sir Henry Thornton, president of the Canadian National, were aboard receiving the congratulations and gratitude of the folks along the roadway. At the State House in Montpelier the Governor thanked Sir Henry Thornton and the great road he represented on behalf of the people of Vermont. In reply Sir Henry paid tribute to the Vermont folk for "their courageous spirit in coping with flood condition."

The West River Railroad—Chartered as the Brattleboro and Whitehall road this strip of 36 miles from Brattleboro to South Londonderry was so demoralized by the great flood that the first step toward its reconstruction was not taken until the 1929 session of the Legislature. At that time a sum not to exceed $200,000 was authorized as a loan to the road on quite similar terms to the loan at the special session after the flood to the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad. It was pointed out at a largely attended hearing that this road served one-fifteenth of the State, that the Central Vermont not only did not want it but had asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to let them give up their lease, and that the rebuilding of the road would be of great benefit in shipping granite, lumber, dairy products and other products of the soil. The bill authorizing this loan was passed with little opposition and the road will be rebuilt with funds furnished by the State, the latter taking the stock of the Brattleboro & Whitehall Railroad as collateral. Built first as a narrow-gauge railroad and later standardized it has been immortalized in Rudyard Kipling's story of "A Walking Delegate," which was written when the great author resided at Brattleboro. The horse named Deacon asks another horse,

> "Kin you keep your feet therough the West river bridge, with the narrergage comin' in on one side, an' the Montreal flyer the other, an' the old bridge teeterin' between?"

The Come Back of the White River Road—Hats off to the people of the White River Valley who rebuilt their line of twenty miles from Bethel to Rochester by private subscription at a cost of approximately $150,000. The road went into bankruptcy after the flood and was rebuilt by the receiver, J. A. Cannon of St. Johnsbury, a practical railroad man and superintendent of the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad. Starting in July, 1928, the road was opened for traffic on January 1, 1929, and is the only road in the State that was not financed in its rehabilitation by the great railway systems of United States and Canada or by securing a loan from the State of

Vermont. Over one hundred corporations and individuals contributed to its restoration. In the list of subscriptions was the offer of one man to contribute a thousand railroad ties; other men contributed labor to the extent of twenty-five to fifty dollars each, while one man offered himself and truck to the extent of a hundred dollars. Those subscribing $2,500 or more were as follows:

Vermont Marble Company,	$35,000
Town of Rochester,	30,000
Blair Veneer Company,	25,000
International Paper Company,	15,000
Eastern Magnesia Talc Company,	15,000
Middlebury College,	10,000
Standard Oil Co., of New York,	6,000
National White River Bank,	5,000
Chaffee Brothers,	2,500
Cary Maple Sugar Company,	2,500

Of the faith in the future of these loyal Vermonters and the corporations outside the State, the "St. Albans Messenger" well said:

> The reconstruction of the obscure little railroad from Bethel to Rochester is a small project when compared to the post-flood rehabilitation of the larger New England lines. But it commands more than passing notice for it demonstrates a courageous effort to restore prosperity to one of Vermont's beautiful and fruitful valleys, and shows that the people along the White river have faith in themselves and confidence in the future.

The Williamstown Branch Opened—The first passenger train from Barre to Williamstown on the Williamstown branch of the Central Vermont system since the flood left the Granite city on May 28, 1929. There were no ceremonies attached to the opening at last of this line, but several officials were on the train to inspect the restored roadbed. A large force of men had been employed this spring in restoring the road to normalcy, filling and grading the road and laying new ties. Regular daily service is now maintained.

Notable Railroad Officials—The history of Vermont railroads, while peculiar and filled with strange twists of fortune, is one of which every Vermonter may well be proud. The number of remarkable men the State has contributed to the development of American railroading as well as the heads of its systems, is well worth noting. Timothy Follett, the first president of the Rutland, and Erastus Fairbanks, the first president of the Connecticut & Passumpsic, have been mentioned in early paragraphs. Percival W. Clement's building of the Rutland Railroad through the islands of Lake Champlain was a most remarkable piece of work. W. Seward Webb, another Rutland



DERBY, LOOKING SOUTHEAST

(Courtesy of Vermont Airways Corporation.)

Railroad head, was president of the Wagner Palace Car Company when it was merged with the Pullman Company in 1899 and, as president of the Adirondack Railway Company, he built the railroad which made the Adirondack region accessible to the public.

The Central Vermont is known in railroad circles as the "University" and many a man has been graduated from this system to the larger roads of the country. The dean of the university was J. Gregory Smith. His father, Dr. Worthington Smith, was pastor of the St. Albans church from 1823 to 1849, or until he resigned to become president of the University of Vermont. J. Gregory was head of as important a college as president of the road then known as the Vermont Central, being succeeded by his son, Edward C. Smith. Both have been able Governors of the State. Among the graduates of this railroad university were Daniel Willard, Charles S. Mellen, E. J. Chamberlin, J. R. Booth, J. M. Hannaford and F. W. Baldwin. Mr. Willard was a track layer on the Vermont Central and afterwards fired an engine on the Connecticut & Passumpsic. He is a native of Hartland and as president of the great Baltimore & Ohio system is the recognized leader among railroad presidents. It was Mr. Mellen "whose remarkable ambition and bold genius brought about the most stupendous development of the rail and water facilities that New England ever produced." Mr. Booth, one of the captains of industry in Canada, builder of the Canada & Atlantic out of Ottawa, and a lumber king, started in life laying track on the Vermont Central as a day laborer. Mr. Hannaford, later vice-president of the Northern Pacific, was a clerk in the St. Albans Railroad offices with F. W. Baldwin, later superintendent of the Mexican Central. Mr. Chamberlin, "the boy from Bethel," left the same offices to become manager of the Canada Atlantic, helped build the Grand Trunk Pacific across the Canadian Rockies to the Pacific coast, and became president of the Grand Trunk after the tragic death of President Charles M. Hays, who went down in the "Titanic" disaster in April, 1912.

Frederick Billings of Woodstock was long president of the Northern Pacific Railroad and one of his sons is now president of the Woodstock Railroad in this State. A president of the Wabash Railroad, O. D. Ashley, was born in Townshend, and Rockingham was the birthplace of Timothy E. Byrnes, one of the vice-presidents of the New York, New Haven & Hartford road. Alden Speare of Boston was born in Chelsea and in his lifetime was a director in four great systems, the Santa Fé, the "Frisco," the Atlantic & Pacific and the Mexican Central. Albert A. Robinson, at one time vice-president and general manager of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa

Fé, was born in Reading. Trenor W. Park, once president of the Panama Railroad, maintained a summer home in Bennington. It was a native of this town now living in Seattle, Horace C. Henry, who built 2,500 miles of railroad in the northwest, including large portions of the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, the "Soo" line and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Rutland was the birthplace of two noted railroad magnates, H. H. Baxter, at one time president of the New York Central and connected with the building of the elevated system in the great metropolis, and Roberts Walker, a president of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific. Nelson H. Loomis, now chief corporation counsel of the Union Pacific, was born in Highgate. Charles H. Wilson, long with the Raymond-Whitcomb tourist agency, is a native of Lyndon and there is living at Lyndonville the dean of all this galaxy of railroad men, Colonel Harley E. Folsom, who recently rounded out over fifty-four years of faithful service, having been general superintendent of several divisions of the Boston & Maine system and president of some of their subsidiaries. The Santa Fé system has had three presidents that were born in this State: Henry Keyes of Vershire (one of the promoters of the Connecticut & Passumpsic), Henry C. Nutt of Montpelier and William B. Strong of Brownington. A founder of the New York Central, Dean Richmond, was a native of Barnard and Senator Stephen W. Dorsey of Arkansas, a native of Benson, was president of the Arkansas Central Railroad. William D. Griswold, from the same town, was president of the Ohio & Mississippi road. Charles Dana of Brandon was one of the incorporators of the Erie Railroad that another Vermonter, James Fisk, Jr., nearly wrecked in his frenzied finance. Selah Chamberlain, born in Rutland, built several railroads and was the consolidator of the great St. Paul system. Ferrisburg was the birthplace of Cassius M. Wicker, interested officially in half a dozen transcontinental lines and president of the Denver & Rio Grande. Lowell was the birthplace of Willis E. Dodge, general attorney of the Great Northern, and this by no means exhausts the list of men who left the farms and hillsides of Vermont to become builders of the Nation in wider fields of usefulness.

A year after the flood the railroads of the State were, if not wholly restored, running at a higher efficiency than before the disaster. It had been discovered that the Green Mountain State was one of the best served by its railroads of any place in the world in proportion to its commercial and industrial insignificance. (Two-thirds of the income of the Central Vermont is derived from through traffic.) Perhaps it needed a great calamity to awaken the people to a knowledge

of this service, and to realize that the railroads were, after all, better than was thought. Now that the work of rehabilitation is about complete, it is well to realize that appreciation is due to the generous aid given to the State's transportation system by helping hands and wealth by those both within and without the State.

There follows a brief account of the organization and the mileage operated by the steam railroads in Vermont on January 1, 1928.

Barre and Chelsea Railroad Company: Organized September 18, 1913, when the East Barre and Chelsea R. R. Company united with the Barre Railroad Company. The Barre Railroad was incorporated April 9, 1888; the East Barre and Chelsea, September 11, 1892. Length of road operated, 23.34 miles.

Boston and Maine Railroad Company: Organized June, 1835, under the Laws of Massachusetts, New Hampushire, Maine and New York. It is a consolidation of many railroads, of which 90.63 are in Vermont.

Bristol Railroad Company: Organized November 22, 1882. Operates between New Haven Junction to Bristol, 6.14 miles.

Canadian National Railway Company, Lessee of the: Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad Company including extension to the Canadian Boundary Line, and the Norway Branch Railroad Company. The lessor company was organized September 25, 1845; chartered in Vermont, October 27, 1848. Operates 30.64 miles of road in Vermont.

Canadian Pacific Railway Company, being the Newport and Richford Railroad Company, and the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers Railroad Company of Vermont. The Newport and Richford was organized December 9, 1880; the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers R. R. Company, November 10, 1835. Roads in Vermont, 86 miles.

Central Vermont Railway Company: Chartered in 1898, organized May 1, 1899. It is a consolidation of the Burlington and Lamoille Valley Railroad Company, organized February 24, 1875, and the Missisquoi Valley Railroad Company, organized December 24, 1886. Roads operated in Vermont, 291.82.

Clarendon and Pittsford Railroad Company: Organized September 10, 1885. Operates 20.28 miles in Vermont.

Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers Railroad Company: Roads operated 109.61.

Delaware and Hudson Company: Organized under Laws of New York, April 23, 1823. Operates 37.11 miles in Vermont.

Hardwick and Woodbury Railroad Company: Organized March 16, 1895. Operates 10.50 miles.

Hoosic Tunnel and Wilmington Railroad Company: Organized December 28, 1886. Operates 16 miles of road.

Maine Central Railroad Company: Organized October 28, 1862, and under many other dates. Roads operated in Vermont, 36.02 miles.

Montpelier and Wells River Railroad: Organized November 20, 1872; November 18, 1874; incorporated January 1, 1877. Operates 43.5 miles of road.

Newport and Richford Railroad Company: Organized December 9, 1880. Has 21.5 miles of road in Vermont.

Rutland Railroad Company: Organized December 23, 1901. Has 224.3 in Vermont.

St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad Company: Incorporated January 31, 1880. Operates 96.2 miles of road.

Vermont Valley Railroad: Organized July 3, 1871. Operates 24.71 miles.

White River Railroad Company: Organized November 21, 1902. Operated 19.34 miles of road between Rochester and Bethel, Vermont.

Woodstock Railway Company: Reorganized July 1, 1890. Operates between White River Junction and Woodstock, with 13.60 miles of track.

There were, January 1, 1928, four electric railroads operating in Vermont. The Burlington Traction Company, organized October 31, 1872, and which took over the Military Post Railway Company, July 27, 1926. The latter mentioned road was chartered in July, 1895.

The Mt. Mansfield Electric Railroad Company was organized November 27, 1894, and reorganized April 2, 1909.

The Springfield Terminal Railway Company was incorporated January 1, 1923, taking over the Springfield Electric Railway Company, whose organization dates from 1894. The Springfield Electric Railway Company of New Hampshire and the Cheshire Bridge Corporation were founded under a special Act of 1894, and both leased to the present holding company as above. It operates 5.98 miles to the State line in Vermont and 2.87 in New Hampshire.

The Vermont Company is a consolidation of the Bennington Electric Railway Company, chartered in 1894, the Bennington and Hoosic Valley Railway Company, organized in 1898, and the Bennington and North Adams Street Railroad. The Vermont Company operates 12.02 miles of electric road in Vermont

There were fifty-one individuals or companies operating motor bus lines in Vermont on January 1, 1928, only seven of which were more than five years old. The most of the bus companies are small, doing a business of but a few thousand dollars a year. There is one whose operating revenues, as given in a report to the Public Service Commission, were stated to be, for the year 1927, as $861,009.47, or more than the annual income of half the steam railroads in Vermont.





BEEBE, VERMONT, AND BEEBE, CANADA

(Courtesy of Vermont Airways Corporation.)

CHAPTER XV

THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE

When Morse was tacking up his first little line of wire around the Speedwell Iron Works, who could have foreseen two hundred and fifty thousand miles of submarine cables, by which the very oceans are all aquiver with the news of the world. . . . And when Bell stood in a dingy workshop in Boston and heard the clang of a clock-spring come over an electric wire, who could have foreseen the massive structure of the Bell system, built up by half the telephones of the world, and by the investment of more actual capital than has gone to the making of any other industrial association? Who could have foreseen what the telephone bells have done to ring out the old ways and to ring in the new; to ring out delay and isolation and to ring in the efficiency and the friendliness of a truly united people?

—HERBERT N. KASSON in "The History of the Telephone."

It's a far cry from the one wire line of the telegraph companies of seventy-five years ago to the manifold lines of the great systems serving Vermont today; wonders never cease in the development of the telephone, with wireless and the radio still in their infancy, but it is remarkable the important part that Vermonters and near Vermonters played in the development of these public utilities. Men who became world famous in their connection with electric wires were born in Vermont and some of them never forgot the State of their birth or adoption.

The Pioneer Telegraph Line—Three years after the first telegraph line in the world had been opened between Baltimore and Washington with the inventor's famous message, "What wonders God hath wrought," Professor George W. Benedict had resigned in 1847 a professorship in the University of Vermont to become assistant to Ezra Cornell, the founder of the university that bears his name, in the construction of the Troy and Canada Junction telegraph line. Mr. Benedict's duties included not only those incident to the building of the line but selling stock to finance the enterprise. After the line was opened he became its first superintendent. He did not keep this office long, but resigned to engage in telegraph construction on his own account. Organizing the Vermont and Boston Telegraph Company he built the first line from Boston to Burlington, with connections at Ogdensburg and Montreal, and through the Connecticut Valley. He was one of the owners and the editor of the "Burlington Free Press" and his son and successor in this news-

paper enterprise, Colonel George Grenville Benedict, was also engaged for several years in building telegraph lines and president of the Vermont and Boston Telegraph Company before the Civil War. Among the promoters of the new enterprise besides Mr. Cornell were Thomas H. Canfield, Colonel John H. Peck and other Burlington capitalists. The first message that was sent over the line February 2, 1848, read as follows:

> From the city of Troy to the city of Burlington: We do sincerely congratulate you as having become at this early day, one of those favored communities, united by the life blood of speedy communication, and as sincerely congratulate ourselves on being able to salute, face to face, the queen city of Lake Champlain.

This line was completed nearly two years ahead of the two rival railroads that came into Burlington, the wire being strung along the highway. After the railroads were opened it was several years before they despatched their trains by telegraph.

Early Messages on Strips of Paper—The first decade after the lines were opened the messages came to the party on a strip of white paper about an inch wide, printed in capital letters. The writer has in his possession a message of this character sent by the American Telegraph Company in the early "fifties" from Albany to Boston to a Vermont railroad president which reads as follows:

FOR WHAT DAY SHALL I CALL MEETING AND SHALL I ISSUE NOTICES FOR BOTH COMPANIES. WILL WRITE BY TODAY'S MAIL.

Later the Morse code of dots and dashes was used on the Bain machines with the narrow ribbon of paper passing through the brass cylinders and embossing the characters. These machines were used in many Vermont offices until about twenty-five years ago when all the operators thereafter read by sound.

The Vermont and Canada Telegraph Company—A year after the opening of the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers Railroad the Vermont and Canada Telegraph Company came up the Connecticut, following the highway and with no connection with the railroad. This line was incorporated November 11, 1848, and the system from Boston to White River Junction and St. Johnsbury was completed in 1851. Later the line was extended northward and connections made with the Canadian lines.

The Vermont International Telegraph Company—The last line in the State to be erected, and for many years the only privately owned

telegraph company in Vermont, was incorporated in 1869 with a paid-in capital stock of $16,000. The capital stock was never increased in over half a century of the company's existence, its maintenance being paid from the earnings. It was projected about one hundred and twenty-five miles from Lunenburg on the Connecticut River to Swanton on Lake Champlain by the promoters of the Vermont Division of the Portland & Ogdensburg Railroad, being erected on the same right of way. Pending the completion of the railroad and its stations the offices were set up and remained for several years in stores or houses, in charge of anyone who could attend to the business and read the messages as they came off the recorder of the receiving instrument. In Bakersfield a woman seventy years old learned to operate the instrument and the telegraph office was located in a small bedroom near her kitchen.

The main office of the company was at St. Johnsbury where it shared its office with the Western Union Telegraph Company. In 1876, when the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company was proving such a formidable rival of the Western Union, a compact was entered into between the Atlantic and Pacific and the Vermont corporation in order that the former might obtain a through connection between the United States and Canada. A second wire was then strung over the Vermont line and the line extended to Wells River to meet the Atlantic and Pacific at that point. Separate offices were then maintained at St. Johnsbury for the Vermont International and the Western Union and this arrangement continued until the Western Union absorbed the Atlantic and Pacific Company in 1879. The Vermont International operated its line and had a working agreement with the Western Union with the proceeds of the twenty-seven Vermont offices divided on a percentage basis. Early in 1927 this line was sold to the St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad, which had always used one wire for despatching their trains. The property was valued at $11,750 by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The railroad still uses one wire of this line for despatching its trains and the other for commercial work.

The Reconstruction after the Flood—Before the end of the year the new owners of the property saw their line put out of commission by the flood. In some places the line was broken for four or five miles, while elsewhere poles were down with the wires dragging on the ground. The first work the section men were ordered to do after the flood was to restore the telegraph line, not to normalcy but to working condition. Wires were strung on fence poles, insulated to trees, and even fastened to sticks and tripods. In a very

few days the line was open for business and there was plenty of business. The first day it was opened the Morrisville operator handled one hundred and seventy-five messages. At Hardwick one hundred and eighty-five delayed messages were sent and received the same day.

Telegraph Companies in Vermont—Aside from the Vermont line above mentioned these companies are operating in Vermont at the present time: the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Great North Western Telegraph Company of Canada (the telegraph lines of the Canadian National Railways), the Postal Telegraph-Cable Company, the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Vermont Operators and Managers—Sir Curtis L. Lampson was born in New Haven and went to Canada in early life. From there he went to London where he accumulated a large fortune and was knighted by Queen Victoria. He was vice-president of the company that laid the first Atlantic cable. He gave money to build a schoolhouse in his native town and furnished the town with a library.

Charles A. Tinker, a native of Chelsea, did his bit for the country in the Civil War as a telegraph operator. Before this he was an operator at Pekin, Illinois, where he became intimately acquainted with Abraham Lincoln when the latter came there to attend county court. He was with General Banks in the early part of the war, with McClellan in his Peninsular campaign and later with General Stoneham's cavalry. While serving with the latter General he repaired the telegraph line on the York River Railroad. He contracted a fever and was sent back to Vermont on a furlough. Recovering his health he returned to Washington as a cipher clerk and operator in the War Department. His services were rewarded with promotion, first to chief operator and then as manager of the War Department's telegraph office. It was while occupying this position that he delivered to President Lincoln the first word of his renomination to the presidency. After the war he was connected with a long list of telegraph companies, being at one time vice-president of the American District Telegraph Company. Readers of these lines who have access to the old files of the "Vermonter" will find in the July, 1899, number a most interesting article by Mr. Tinker giving personal reminiscences of Lincoln.

Colonel A. B. Chandler, a native of Randolph and donor of the splendidly equipped Music Hall in that village, like Mr. Tinker, began at the bottom of the ladder and reached the top. "From boyhood Mr. Chandler has been connected with the telegraph business, and

for many years he has been prominently identified with enterprises and movements that have been fruitful in bringing this immense interest into its present profitable and useful condition." Starting as manager of a Western Union office in Bellaire, Ohio, he entered the United States military telegraph service as a cipher operator in 1863. In this important work he became intimately acquainted with both President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton. In 1875 he became attached to the Atlantic and Pacific Company, being its president from 1879 until its absorption by the Western Union in 1882. Two years later he was with the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company, first as its chief counsel and later as receiver when it went into bankruptcy. When the corporation was reorganized in 1886 he was elected president. He built the Postal Telegraph building in New York City in 1892. "During the last five years that Professor Samuel F. B. Morse lived, Mr. Chandler was well acquainted with him, and he has had the personal friendship of almost everyone of the prominent promoters, inventors, owners, managers, etc., of telegraph interests and of electrical enterprises generally, which have revolutionized the modern world."

Theodore N. Vail, whose home was in London from 1885 until his death in 1920, "created the telephone business," as will appear later in this chapter, but it is worth noting that he began in his teens as a telegraph operator and at the age of sixty-five was president of the Western Union Telegraph Company. Starting as clerk in a small town drugstore in New Jersey he found the telegraph office located there much more fascinating than pharmacy. In the two years of his life as drug clerk he had made one or two magnetic instruments of his own, and learned to read by sound instead of using the tape on the receiver. Leaving Morristown in the summer of 1864 he landed in New York City where his uncle, then associated with the Western Union, secured him a job in the telegraph office at Fortieth Street and Eleventh Avenue, known as the "Hogshead office," it being telegraphic headquarters for hog brokers. After the Civil War the young man went to Iowa but farming evidently did not appeal to him, as he remarked to a friend, "I have had all of that damn farm I want. I am going where I can make some money." So at twenty-three he finally reached Pine Bluff, Nebraska, the farthest point west on the Union Pacific line then pushing slowly westward. These were strenuous days for a tenderfoot, enlivened by prairie fires, skirmishes with the Indians and whiskey straight and seven up in the Pine Bluff saloon. Young Vail once used the wires to broadcast the good news that his mother had sent him generous

boxes of turkeys, pies and doughnuts for the holidays. "The news of it traveled—Vail himself sent it out over the wires. Men came as far as a hundred miles for a single piece of pie." Theodore N. Vail already had plans for expansion and recommended to headquarters that the Pine Bluff office be made a testing station with two through wires that put the office in touch with the outside world. As the overland passengers passed through Pine Bluff the young operator would give them bulletins of the world's news. This job was too circumscribed for him and again he appealed to his uncle who secured him a position in 1869 on the railway mail service out of Omaha on an eleven-hundred-mile run.

It was not until 1909 that Mr. Vail, then president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, became also president of the Western Union, and the remarkable growth of the latter corporation dates from this event. At the end of the first year business had increased five million dollars; the service was speeded up and the employees had their pay increased fifty per cent. In an article in "Printers Ink" Charles W. Hurd wrote:

> All that Theodore N. Vail did to the Western Union . . . was to put life and courage into the demoralized force, improve the 25,000 telegraph offices scattered over the country, create several new telegraph and cable services to fill in the idle force's time, reduce the general cost to the public, and educate the latter to these new devices and economies through country-wide advertising. . . . Only, nobody in the old organization had seen it before, had been aware of the real basic trouble, or knew where to begin to overcome it.

As an old operator he knew the problems of the men at the keys and besides visiting the larger offices he wrote letters to others in the smaller offices, telling them all to come to him with their grievances. He devised the night and day letters, the cable letter, and the week-end cable, announcing the various features now such an integral part of the service in snappy advertisements in the magazines and newspapers. He established a pension system and a loan service, the latter being conducted with very little loss.

But the Department of Justice at Washington thought the association of the two companies violated the anti-trust laws and ordered their separation. Mr. Vail was at his home in Lyndon when the news came of this decision. It was a bitter disappointment that the Government had put an end to the economies and conveniences that were possible under his arrangement, but he bowed to the inevitable. In 1913 the Western Union stock owned by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company was sold and Mr. Vail resigned as president of the Western Union. It never affected his



MAIN STREET, RANDOLPH



MUSIC HALL, RANDOLPH

loyalty to the Government, for when America went to war Mr. Vail issued in March, 1917, the following statement:

> These are emergency times and it has been a great pleasure to me to be of service in bringing together the telegraph and telephone interests of the nation to serve the government's need. . . . Much has already been done quietly between the wire companies individually and the government, and there is now no question but that the nation and the government are amply equipped with facilities for communications of all sorts for whatever need may arrive.

The Coming of the Telephone—It was in the centennial year of 1876 that Alexander Graham Bell received on his twenty-ninth birthday his patent, No. 174,465, "the most valuable single patent ever issued" in any country. He called it in his application "an improvement in telegraphy." It was nothing of the sort. "He cross-fertilized the two sciences of acoustics and electricity." Two months later he took his talking wire to the Philadelphia centennial where it was hardly noticed by the crowds of sightseers; even the judges when they first saw it raised a laugh at Bell's expense. But when the Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro de Alcantara, came to the little booth and listened in he exclaimed in utter amazement, "My God, it talks." Sir William Thomson, latterly known as Lord Kelvin, the foremost electric scientist in the world and engineer of the first Atlantic cable, next took up the receiver and said emphatically "It does speak. It is the most wonderful thing I have seen in America." And all this was barely a half a century ago and is fresh in the memory of the older readers of these lines, some of whom distinctly recall the historic event.

A year later the telephone came to Vermont and there was just as much wonderment as among the distinguished visitors at the centennial. When the telephone was introduced into St. Johnsbury on July 20, 1877, the "Caledonian" said, "The wonderful telephone has come; wires are stretched between C. C. Bingham's house and drugstore, and conversation is going on. This is a curiosity that will repay investigation." The doctors were the first patrons and in 1880 Mr. Bingham had installed a regular exchange, operating it under the original Bell Telephone Company. In two years there were thirty-five patrons and soon the line was extended to Newport, and to talk with Boston in those early days was an event worth remembering. This was one of the pioneer lines in Vermont and for several years Mr. Bingham was manager, "Hello" operator, lineman and wire chief combined.

Page Theodore N. Vail—"Bell created the telephone and Vail created the telephone business." As previously mentioned Vermont

was Mr. Vail's home during the latter half of his life and he was tremendously proud of the State of his adoption. A frequent visitor to Europe on business or pleasure, he would always register in the hotels of London, Paris or elsewhere, "Theo. N. Vail, Lyndon, Vermont, U. S. A.," and was a great believer in the future of Vermont. Intensely interested in young people he was one of the promoters of the Eastern States Exposition; gave the State an agricultural college from his estate which later the State abandoned, expended $60,000 in the purchase of new property, repairs and equipment at Lyndon Institute; met an annual deficit, and generously provided in his will for this secondary school of which he was the beloved president.

How young Vail became attached to the Bell Telephone Company is a dramatic story whose accuracy was vouched for by Mr. Vail himself when the writer of these lines asked if it was true. When the Indians were chasing the buffaloes and scalping the white men on the western prairies and the Union Pacific was steadily pushing westward, young Vail was a railway mail clerk. One day his train ran into a snow blockade in the Rocky Mountains. Train after train piled up behind, while over the divide the same condition occurred. On one side there were several trains with passengers and the transcontinental mails, while seven or eight miles away over the continental divide were the other trains. The frosty weather, the deep snow and the blizzard were bad enough, but in young Vail's mind the worst feature of the situation was the fact that the mail service was demoralized. When the train officials decided to back the trains out of the drifts the postal clerks refused to do more than simply throw the mails out of the cars, claiming that it was up to the railroad to get the mails through. Young Vail, however, thought otherwise and gathering all the mail on his side of the blockade got a volunteer crew from the passengers to help him carry the mails beyond the blockade. Now there was something doing, and the mails crossed each other east and west. The elements were beaten at their own game. It was Vail against the elements and Vail won. It was not long before he was promoted and in 1877 he was superintendent with a force of thirty-five men under him. He got his first promotion because one of the assistant Postmaster-Generals was on one of the delayed trains and that man was Gardiner G. Hubbard. Mr. Hubbard reported to Washington by wire who the young man was that got the mails through. And when in 1877 the Bell Telephone Company needed a manager Mr. Hubbard found Mr. Vail in Washington and wrote his Boston associates that he had secured "the greatest organizer in the country."

"A Damned Old Yankee Notion"—When First Assistant Postmaster-General Powell heard that Mr. Vail was leaving the railway mail service he wrote a letter which probably indicates the attitude of most people of the "seventies" towards the new invention:

> If there is any truth in the rumor my only wish is that you may have—before the acceptance of your resignation by the P. M. Gen'l,—a telephone tube fastened to your ear and another connecting at the top of your head with a wire running perpendicular or horizontal, and while in this condition be compelled to listen to the sweet bye-and-byes of every yelping canine and the solos of all the tom cats in the state of New York. . . . I can scarcely believe that a man of your sound judgment, one who holds an honorable and far more responsible position than any man under the P. M. Gen'l, with honor and respect attached to the same, should throw it up for a damned old Yankee notion (a piece of wire with two Texas steer horns attached to the ends, with an arrangement to make the concern blat like a calf) called a telephone.

Mr. Vail Comes to Vermont—Passing over a decade of continuous successes and marvelous developments in the telephone business Mr. Vail came to Lyndon in 1885, having retired from the Bell management, to become a gentleman farmer and enjoy life at Speedwell Farms, the name of his three thousand acre estate overlooking the valley of the Passumpsic River with the Green Mountains and the White Mountains beyond. While in Buenos Aires in 1901, deep in financial and construction problems, he was offered the presidency of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the offer and its declination being transmitted by cable. The call came again in the spring of 1907 and when urged by his sister to decline he replied, "No, I must take it. It is the crowning thing of my life; I am in a position to take it now. Besides, now they need me." Twenty years of absence had not lessened the usefulness of the man; its wires had multiplied thirty fold; its subscribers exceeded three million. "Vail had left it in its lusty youth," says Albert Bigelow Paine in his biography, "he found it now a great wallowing giant, needing only to be set on its feet."

Talking Over Land and Sea—Mr. Paine relates the story of how in the early days of the Boston exchange when the farthest point reached was Worcester, fifty miles away, an old lady climbed three flights of stairs and when she had recovered her breath she wished to talk with her son in Chicago. Chief Engineer John J. Carty said the boys laughed at the guileless old lady, and even more at young Carty, when the latter declared that the day would come when one could talk to Chicago. And on January 25, 1915, the transcontinental line was opened. Mr. Vail was then at Jekyl Island off the coast

of Georgia, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell was in the New York office and Thomas A. Watson was in San Francisco. The two latter had talked over the first telephone, March 10, 1876, in Williams Garret in Boston; on this memorable afternoon they talked across the continent, using for a portion of the time the original telephone.

Mr. Vail had a private wire from Speedwell Farms to Boston and New York and often held directors' meetings with officers of the company in three places. While in Jekyl Island he called his Lyndon home every noon, a distance of approximately a thousand miles, and on one occasion with the help of the wireless conversed with a party in Honolulu.

Vermont Talks with London—Mr. Cary of the Cary Maple Sugar Company at St. Johnsbury was the first Vermonter to talk across the Atlantic Ocean and this was February 7, 1927. Within ten minutes after the call was put in Mr. Cary was talking with Mr. Gordon of the London wholesale firm of Gordon, MacDonald and Company. Both parties heard each other distinctly at a three-minute call costing $75.

Page Harry B. Thayer—If Mr. Vail was a near Vermonter Mr. Thayer was a real Vermonter, born in Northfield and Mr. Vail's successor as head of the great telephone company. President Walter S. Gifford has well summed up the services of this Vermonter in announcing his retirement:

After nearly fifty years of continuous service in the Bell system H. B. Thayer, chairman of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, has retired. When Mr. Thayer went to work for the Western Electric Company in 1881, soon after his graduation from Dartmouth College, that company was doing an annual business of about three-quarters of a million dollars. He became president of the Western Electric Company in 1908. When he left to become president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company the annual business of the Western Electric Company had grown to about $150,000,000.

When Mr. Thayer resigned as president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company over three years ago to become chairman it was with the idea of gradually relinquishing his responsibilities to the interests he had served so faithfully and long. Now he feels he has earned his freedom from these business cares.

During Mr. Thayer's connection with the Bell System, the investment, which was about twenty-five millions at the time he went to work in the manufacturing company, has increased to over three and a half billions.

Mr. Thayer has always been acquiring friends among the younger men, so that the best wishes of thousands of his present associates in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and its affiliated organizations are extended to him now and will be his in the years which are to come.

In accepting Mr. Thayer's resignation as chairman and director of the

American Telephone and Telegraph Company the directors unanimously expressed their high appreciation of his invaluable services in the development and success of the Bell System.

Before leaving the particular subject of Vermonters in the telephone management, it should be mentioned that the late Charles S. Gleed, a native of Morrisville, at one time was president of the Bell Company in Missouri and Kansas, and Matt B. Jones, a native of Waitsfield and resident of Boston, is president of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, a subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Since its organization, the New England company has taken over the Champlain Valley Telephone Company, the Vermont Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Passumpsic Telephone Company and the Proctor Telephone Company, and is by far the largest system in the State. There are sixty-two independent companies now operating in Vermont, though some of them are closely affiliated with the New England company.

The Telephones and Flood Reconstruction—Wherever the overflowing streams and rivers flooded the land it wrecked the telephone lines as completely as it did the other public utilities. Four hundred and fifty toll circuits were broken, and yet within forty-eight hours Barre, Montpelier, St. Johnsbury and other communities had partial service. Within a week every office in Vermont had been reconnected by the Herculean efforts of weary workers, some of whom risked their lives to restore broken lines. In most every instance it was next to impossible to get the adequate supply of material and in more than one instance this material had to be transported over mountains and almost impassable roads on the lineman's back. The New England Telephone and Telegraph Company generously contributed $5,000 to the general relief fund, while it spent in a week's time thousands of dollars more to restore their lines. The worst breaks on the toll lines were between Burlington and Montpelier, White River Junction and Montpelier, and St. Johnsbury and Wells River. In the latter area eight miles of toll line was wiped out. Four miles of this line had to be relocated, as the water was up over the lines in both the Passumpsic and Connecticut River valleys. Local lines were also dead, Barre reporting fifteen hundred, Burlington and Winooski a thousand, St. Johnsbury four hundred and fifty, and so on. Then, too, there was an increasing demand for toll calls from those outside the State seeking information and from those within trying to get word to friends and relatives of the terrible catastrophe. Friday after the flood the toll service rose to thirty per cent above normal; Saturday it was forty-

five per cent above normal and by Sunday it was eighty-two per cent above normal. Operators stayed at their posts throughout the State through the long hours of the flood danger, waiting for the first opportunity to be of service to the anxious public. And when the circuits were opened they were swamped with work, all of which they did with cheerfulness and despatch. Barre got partial service in forty-eight hours after the flood, although full service could not be given for some days after the first message came through by way of Woodsville, New Hampshire. In speaking of the speedy recovery, President Jones said:

> I followed with interest and genuine pride the process by which our lines were pieced out, until, within a week after the flood had made practically a clean sweep of them in Vermont we had toll connections with every office in the State. I am proud of our people, our organization and our accomplishment.

Vermonter Received the Gold Medal Award—On the evening of June 20, 1928, the Vail medal awards were awarded at the State House at Montpelier with fitting ceremonies. The gold medal award with five hundred dollars in cash was awarded to Fred F. Brown, with the following citation:

GOLD MEDAL AWARD
FRED F. BROWN
Foreman, The Connecticut Valley Telephone Company
Bradford, Vermont

For Courage, Initiative and Resourcefulness in Restoring Vital Telephone Service in a Serious Emergency, in the Face of Grave Personal Danger

When the unprecedented rains in Northern Vermont in early November, 1927, had turned the rivers into torrents of destruction which paralyzed activities in that section of the state, Foreman Brown and two fellow-employees set out on November 5 to clear at least one toll line into Montpelier, the capital city, which had been isolated.

After driving twenty miles over back roads and high ground, they found that the lines were crossed where the Wells River had washed out a pole and left the tie wires tangled in the toll circuits. The cross could not be shaken out and, although the river was a rushing torrent filled with logs, trees and other débris and a fall would have meant almost certain death, Brown hooked his safety strap over the four wires and rode out on what was then a two hundred and sixty foot span, untangled the ties which caused the cross and, when one wire broke as he started back, rode the remaining three back to the pole in safety.

The circuit which he restored was immediately put in service for official use of the State authorities and was of vital importance in the organization of the relief work and in giving accurate news to the outside world.

Mrs. Clara B. Pitkin, agent of the White River Valley Company, at West Hartford, received a silver medal and two hundred and fifty

dollars in cash for her long hours of service at the switchboard, when she refused to leave her post and gave warnings to many people in the White River Valley during the flood.

H. E. Roby, of Montpelier, who is superintendent of the traffic department of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, was cited for his conspicuous service in restoring service in Montpelier and from there to the outside world as the flood waters receded. His medal was also a silver one and the cash award was two hundred and fifty dollars.

The fourth telephone worker who received a medal, Robert D. Carpenter, was not present at this impressive ceremony.

When they were called upon by the chairman, each of the three responded with a few words. Mr. Roby told some of the experiences which he and his fellow-workers endured during the flood. He gave a great deal of credit to those who assisted him in restoring telephone service. As each of the three flood heroes in telephone service rose to speak their photographs were flashed upon the screen.

Number of Telephones in Vermont—The Census Department of the Department of Commerce published May 27, 1929, the statistics of the telephones in Vermont in 1927, the last recorded tabulation. There were 60,793 telephones in Vermont, of which 37,168 were the Bell system and 23,625 telephones of all other systems. This was an increase since the last census of 1925 of 11.5 per cent. In this five year period the increase in the Bell system was 19.3 per cent and in the other systems 1.1 per cent.

Founder of the Adams Express Company a Vermonter—The little town of Andover, whose population is only two hundred and ninety-four, was the birthplace of Alvin Adams, the founder of the great express company that bears his name. He used a wheelbarrow for his first load, and in 1840 established an express company that operated between Boston and New York. Eventually, he absorbed the rival New England line, started in 1839 by William F. Hernden, extending his service as the railroads began their era of expansion. During the Civil War the Adams company rendered great service to the Government in transporting war materials, food and other supplies to the Northern armies.

CHAPTER XVI

LIFE INSURANCE IN VERMONT

(The history of life insurance in Vermont is the story of the only life insurance company in our State and the readers are fortunate in having this chapter written by the head of the National Life Insurance Company, Hon. Fred A. Howland of Montpelier.)

The pioneer is always a figure of outstanding interest. Courage, unflagging resolution, and, perhaps above all, creative imagination are the necessary qualities of those enterprising personalities who successfully blaze the trail, whether it be in science, exploration, or business. At a time when life insurance is accepted as an economic factor of essential importance in the social and business structure, it is difficult to look back and appreciate the daring and vision required to project and foster the early life insurance companies.

In 1848, when the National Life Insurance Company was chartered by the Vermont Legislature, only seven companies now actively writing life insurance were in existence, of which the oldest had been doing business but six years. The total assets of these seven companies then writing nearly all of the life insurance in the United States was less than two million dollars. Not only was very little known about life insurance in any part of the country, but there arose and continued for some years, whenever the business was pressed, a violent opposition to it, reaching as far as the pulpit. Furthermore, life insurance as at that time developed in England (where alone it had experienced an apprenticeship of any significance) was being done only "in a vaguely experimental way."

The population of Montpelier at the time was about 4,000. It had no railroad or telegraphic connection with the outside world. In those early days it was indeed far removed from the business and financial centers of the country, yet the small hamlet contained a remarkable group of able men whose vision was not circumscribed by the encircling hills which enfolded the town—men so forceful and capable that it is probable that Vermont's subsequent history will not show their equal in a single generation in so small an area.

One of this group was Daniel Baldwin, who as early as 1828 founded the Vermont Mutual Fire Insurance Company on an underwriting plan which he originated, and which has served to this day as a model for the mutual fire insurance companies of Vermont.

Others were Timothy P. Redfield, judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont, and Homer W. Heaton, the organizer of the first trust company of the State and the founder of the hospital which bears his name. Still another was Dr. Julius Y. Dewey, the father of Admiral Dewey.

These men, with Paul Dillingham, of Waterbury, orator, Congressman, and Governor, were the active directors who organized the National Life Insurance Company. All of them were prominent figures in Vermont, were successful in business or professional life, and were recognized as prudent and sagacious and of the highest character. Just why, under the adverse conditions prevailing, they should have been persuaded to establish a life insurance company designed from the first to be national in its scope is even more difficult to determine than how or why the project met with success. The most probable explanation seems to lie in the exceptional qualities of the men themselves. Most of them deeply religious, they had the penetration to appreciate that life insurance and life insurance alone would meet and satisfy one of the great and hitherto unsolved needs of civilization—financial protection against the hazards of death before the average expectancy. The appeal in its altruistic aspects was doubtless the potent moving force, although its sound business possibilities must have satisfied their hardheaded scrutiny. In any event, no one of the organizers ever profited in a measurable way, or attempted to profit through his connection with the company, and from the very first the record discloses a scrupulous regard for the rights and interest of the policyholders.

Dr. Dewey was the dominant spirit in the new venture, and he so molded the infant company and directed its affairs for twenty-seven years that he is recognized as its founder. While the charter of the company was secured from the Vermont Legislature at the instance of Benjamin Balch, of Massachusetts, his impress on the company seems to have been limited to that function and to the even more important business of impressing the local incorporators with his vivid conception of the wonderful possibilities of life insurance. That he was qualified to do this is indicated by the following quotation from the biography of this unusual personage:

> Benjamin Balch was a remarkable man, far-seeing and somewhat eccentric. His eccentricity rose to such a degree that his mind became somewhat unbalanced. He was considered one of the ablest statisticians in the country. Our present national banking law is nearly word for word as he designed it and advocated long before the Civil War. The Pacific railroad schemes were originated by him before they were dreamed of by others. For more than fifty years he advocated the Darien Ship Canal. A writer said of him: "He was



WEBSTERVILLE, WITH BARRE IN RIGHT BACKGROUND

(Courtesy of Vermont Airways Corporation.)

called insane, but he knew more than any man I ever met, particularly on the subject of banking and insurance.

Mr. Balch's peculiarities made him an impossible business associate, however, and before any policies were written he was removed from the office of secretary because he had "transcended his powers and neglected to comply with his duties."

When Dr. Dewey assumed control of the National he was in his fiftieth year. He was a skillful physician, had built up a large practice, and, being a good business man, had prospered financially. Senator William P. Dillingham, who knew him well, describes him as not having a negative characteristic in his entire makeup. Dr. Bisbee, the medical director of the National, says of him in his recently published history of the company:

> Being deeply religious and influential and zealous in all that related to the public welfare, the potential benefits to society in the extension of life insurance seem to have so taken command of his intense nature that he devoted the remainder of his life to the company he had founded with no discoverable concern for his own financial opportunities.

Confirmation of Dr. Bisbee's appraisal appears throughout the company records, and Dr. Dewey's early arguments for life insurance published in 1852 amply illustrate his devotion to the cause and demonstrate how completely he had absorbed the basic philosophy of the business. His arguments are as sound, appropriate, and sufficient today as they were seventy-five years ago.

From the first, a company national in scope and activities seems to have been contemplated, as the original name, National Life Insurance Company of the United States, would imply, and as was even more evident from the names of the incorporators, the first being Henry Clay, of Kentucky, followed by other distinguished citizens of Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Rhode Island, and Vermont. It was soon apparent, however, that the administrative responsibility must be borne by a limited number of local men, and an early amendment of the charter fixed the number of directors at thirteen, at which it has since remained, and the large majority of the board have since continuously been residents of Vermont.

While a small Reserved Guaranty Capital was provided to launch the company, and at a later date another small stock issue was put out to prevent the capture of the company by speculative interests outside the State, both were retired soon after their issue, and the company has from the first been operated on a strictly mutual basis.

All of the work of organization, including the securement of pledges for $200,000 of insurance, was done without expense. Among

the first votes of the directors was one providing that "in no case shall it be lawful to loan any sum of money belonging to the company to any director or officer of the company upon any security whatever." This voluntary action, prompted by no charter or legal requirements, the long record of innumerable services without remuneration, and the nominal compensation fixed for the directors and officers throw light upon the character of the men who were guiding the affairs of the young company.

Policy No. 1, now framed in the president's office, was written for $1,000 on the life of Daniel Baldwin, and bears date of January 17, 1850. As the policy is like those issued by other companies of that day, it is worth while, as showing the extent to which the modern policy has been liberalized, to note the meager coverage of this early contract as compared with the policies now being issued. It was entirely lacking in the clauses found in all modern policies providing for: Incontestability; grace in payment of premiums; participation in surplus earnings; non-forfeiture on default in payment of premiums; cash, loan, paid-up, and continued insurance values; change of beneficiary; reinstatement; statements in application to be treated as representations and not warranties; and installment and special forms of settlement.

The policy also had drastic restrictions regarding travel, which no modern contract contains.

The first death claim was on policies numbered 77 and 78, for $500 each on the life of Rowland Allen, of Ferrisburg, who died on shipboard on his way to California on May 17, 1850. Notice of the claim was received at the home office in the following July, when the ninety-day privilege then existing was waived and payment made at once, although it required the personal credit of some of the directors to raise the funds.

At the end of the first year it appeared that 381 policies were outstanding, insuring to the amount of $479,950, while the financial account stood as follows:

Premiums and interest received		$15,135.19
Death loss	$1,000.00	
Total expenses	4,721.95	5,721.95
Balance		$9,413.24

Outside of Vermont business had even then been written in Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

For some years it may fairly be said that Dr. Dewey was the

company. He was at the same time president, medical director, and also agency superintendent in fact, although the office in name did not exist. Well authenticated reports tell of his trips in personal solicitation of insurance even as far as Montreal. With applications in his saddlebag, he would go out and solicit the risk, make the medical examination, approve the case, and issue the policy, all in one interview. And tradition has it that he performed each function with a disinterested view to the welfare of the company. Certainly his record and standing were above reproach with his own directors, with the officers of other companies, and with the supervising officials of the States where the company did business.

From the first, the company paid surrender values, provided for the distribution of surplus profits, and, in general, gave more liberal treatment to policyholders than the meager provisions of the contract required. While conservative in investing company funds, Dr. Dewey kept abreast of life insurance progress in the development of policy forms and in the company's relations with its growing body of policyholders. His prime concern, however, was to keep the company at all hazards sound and strong.

On May 29, 1877, after twenty-seven years of devoted service, Dr. Dewey died of a heart attack. At any time in that period he might truly have said, regarding the company, as did Louis XIV about France, "C'est moi."

What he accomplished is roughly shown by the data given below, indicating the company's status in 1877, but no facts or figures can adequately represent the sound investment and underwriting methods, the valuable traditions, the good will, and the widespread reputation for fair dealing and prudent management which his leadership had developed.

DECEMBER 31, 1877

Assets,	$2,143,346
Liabilities,	1,457,493
Surplus,	685,853
Insurance in force,	8,562,232
Income during year,	345,471
Paid to policyholders during year,	243,844

In his last annual statement, dated January 1, 1877, Dr. Dewey wrote these words:

> The primary object of the managers of this Company has been to maintain strength beyond the power of adverse contingencies to seriously impair, that no disappointment might befall those whose welfare depends upon the integrity of its contracts.

Evidence from disinterested sources beyond the borders of Vermont is not lacking that Dr. Dewey had established for his company a solid reputation for good management. In 1879, two years after Dr. Dewey's death, Elizur Wright, by far the most distinguished figure in American life insurance, the organizer of the Massachusetts Insurance Department and the author of the non-forfeiture laws which, more than anything else, have given stability to the business, wrote to the company's general agent in Boston as follows:

> I congratulate you that your company,—and I do not know a sounder one—now offers a life insurance bond to which no prudent man who needs insurance can object. It meets every contingency, combines endowment with insurance and does not contain any possible trap. . . . The stipulation of a definite, fair and equitable cash surrender value is what life insurance has generally lacked. . . .
>
> That a company which has for twenty-nine years maintained the highest character for economy, conservatism, prudence and integrity, and weathered every storm without a leak, should offer such a bond is pretty good proof of its safety. . . .

Charles Dewey, a son of the founder, who had been a director of the company since 1851 and vice-president for six years, was elected president and served ably for twenty-four years, when because of age and impaired health he resigned, although continuing on the board of directors. James C. Houghton, who had been with the company for twenty-nine years as director, treasurer, or vice-president, succeeded to the presidency, but his service was cut short by death the following year.

The board of directors, in a resolution adopted at the time of Charles Dewey's retirement from the presidency, set forth the growth of the company during his fifty years' connection with it and add this tribute, which in a few words tells the story of his administration:

> By far the greater part of this magnificent growth has taken place during the 24 years of his administration as president and has been in large measure due to his fidelity, capacity and efficiency.

The annual report just prior to President Dewey's retirement shows the company's progress during the first half-century of its existence.

DECEMBER 31, 1900

Assets,	$19,900,890
Liabilities,	17,899,826
Surplus,	2,001,064
Insurance in force,	99,471,839
Income during year,	4,756,954
Paid to policyholders during year,	1,568,954

The fifty-two years thus passed may be described as the Dewey régime. It was a record reflecting the characteristics of the founder, producing a company whose firmly settled traditions were economy of management, strict mutuality to policyholders, conservatism in investments, and absolute probity and fair dealing in all relations.

In October, 1889, a young man became connected with the company who was destined to make such numerous and important contributions to its well-being as to give him a place in the company's annals beside that of Dr. Dewey. Joseph Arend DeBoer was born in Holland, June 17, 1861, and came to this country at the age of seven. He attended the Albany High School, and in 1884 graduated from Dartmouth College with high rank, having worked in and out of college sufficiently to pay his entire expense. While principal of the Montpelier public schools, his brilliant qualities attracted the attention of some of the directors of the company, and when it was decided that outside actuarial advice, which up to that time had been relied upon to supplement the mathematical knowledge of the company's officers, was not adequate to meet the daily needs of the growing company, the young schoolmaster was asked to fit himself to become the National's actuary. Registering with D. P. Fackler, the leading consulting actuary of New York, he rapidly acquired the fundamentals of his profession, was one of the charter members of the Actuarial Society of America, and developed a broad and adequate grasp of the science. To mental powers of exceptional natural capacity were added a sound education and unremitting and tireless application. This rare combination of qualities applied to the company's business soon made it obvious that precise scholarship along actuarial lines was filling one of the great needs that had not hitherto been fully appreciated. As a result, the new actuary soon became potent in the company's affairs, in 1901 became vice-president, and on the death of Mr. Houghton was the inevitable successor to the presidency. At this juncture, Mr. DeBoer's character and qualities and training so completely fitted him to direct the company's affairs and supplement by exact knowledge the leadership of the earlier years that the event seems more than accidental. He had already, in addition to his actuarial duties, acted as secretary and had also served on the Medical Selection Committee and been a member of the Committee on Finance. To all of these tasks he brought a power of analysis and application that eventually made him a master of all branches of the administrative work of the home office. He also developed a familiarity with and sympathy for the work of the agents in the field that brought him exceptional recognition

from the National Association of Life Underwriters. He was an eloquent and effective speaker, and his correspondence was a model of good English and convincing statement. His addresses and papers, both on insurance and also on public matters—in which he had a great interest and took a prominent part—are numerous and of the highest quality. It may be said that in his knowledge of all phases of the life insurance business, including its investment features, he grew to have no superior in this country, and I believe this standing was quite generally accorded to him.

Mr. DeBoer fashioned into modern form and perpetuated on scientific lines what Dr. Dewey had brought into being. Cherishing and adhering to the fundamentals of the founders, his ambition was to embody in the National all that was best in life insurance, with its size incidental, except in so far as it affected the main problem. To the attainment of this goal he unremittingly exercised the unusual talent of a personality great as measured by the most exacting standards. His untimely death on December 25, 1915, left the company impressed in all its branches with the individuality of two men peculiarly fitted, each in his own way, to do in combination a great service to the company and its policyholders.

The January, 1916, report of the company summarizes its growth during Mr. DeBoer's presidency:

> In the thirteen years of his term as president the company has increased its assets from $22,384,263.37 to $63,828,704.98, the insurance in force from $108,573,050 to $200,987,121, the annual payments to annuitants from $34,749.05 to $568,762.16, the general surplus from $736,218.15 not including deferred surplus to $3,822,652.97, and the annual dividend payments to policyholders from $137,996.42 to $1,324,246.86; investments have been made amounting to $100,958,809.74 without loss through default of principal or interest; the rate of interest earned on mean invested funds has advanced from 4.97% to 5.11%; 78% of the insurance in force has been brought to the basis of a 3% interest assumption; the writing of non-participating and deferred dividend policies has been discontinued; the policy forms have been liberalized and additional benefits extended to old policyholders; and the agency force has been materially strengthened.
>
> These evidences of progress, substantial as they are, fall far short of representing the actual development of the company in the period during which President DeBoer's remarkable genius was exercised unremittingly and with a devotion that knew no limitations in the upbuilding of a strictly policyholders' company on sound and scientific lines. There is no branch of the business that does not show the constructive effect of his energizing influence.

Since President DeBoer's death, in 1915, the company has grown and developed along the lines of the other mutual old-time life insurance organizations of its type, preserving the established traditions of conservatism, an adherence to sound underwriting methods, and,

in general, an administration devoted to the interests of the owners of the company, the policyholders. Since the war it has profited with other companies by the marvelous growth of life insurance in the United States. The January, 1929, statement contains these figures, representing the

COMPANY STATUS DECEMBER 31, 1928

Assets,	$122,886,906
*Liabilities,	115,848,591
Surplus,	7,038,315
Income during year,	27,152,904
Paid policyholders during year,	13,201,576
Insurance in force,	565,606,406

*(This includes $108,151,231 reserves to protect policies, $160,000 for death claims not reported but estimated to exist, $497,579 for taxes accrued but not due, and $5,180,309 dividends set aside to be distributed in 1929.)

The company has established general agencies and is now doing business in thirty-nine States and the District of Columbia.

To keep the company funds at interest, the Finance Committee is required to make investments each day averaging $61,000.

It has paid policyholders since its organization $210,193,791, which, with assets to their credit, exceeds the premiums received by $28,294,433.

To Vermonters it is of interest that of the $27,152,904 of income received in 1928 only $919,086 came from Vermont, while the company's disbursements in Vermont for the year amounted to $1,304,340.

Any sketch of the company would be incomplete without giving credit to the influence of the directors, who, in the last analysis, have been responsible for what success it has had. Throughout its history they have been an able group of representative men, keenly interested in its affairs and conscious of their obligation for its proper management. The president of one of the country's largest life insurance companies, a native Vermonter and familiar with its affairs, in a letter written on the occasion of the company's seventy-fifth anniversary, had this to say on that point:

> Its Board of Directors have through the years presented a cross section of the intellectual and business life of the State. I doubt if any other single institution in Vermont is allied in its history with so many great Vermont names.

Of the something over 350 life insurance companies of the United States now doing business, the National is ninth in point of age, twenty-fifth in amount of insurance in force, and twenty-first in

amount of assets. It is alone in having attained its present size in so small a community.

The "Insurance Year Book," published by The Spectator Company, has for more than fifty years been the encyclopedic annual its title indicates. In the 1928 volume devoted to life insurance and containing historical data regarding all the companies the following appears regarding the National Life:

Administration and Repute—This company was organized by far-seeing and astute New Englanders, who built the company upon solid foundations predicated upon honest and equitable dealing with their policyholders. The company through judicious management and sound business principles with liberal and up-to-date contracts has become one of the leading life insurance companies in the country. It operates upon a sound financial basis with ample assets and reserves and large funds both apportioned and unapportioned. Its investments are securely made, and with mortgage loans and Government bonds predominating yield a high rate of interest. Its financial statements have always been made on the market value basis. With sound actuarial methods, their mortality rates have been low. The operating and expense rates have been uniformly below average. As the company, since July 6, 1879, has been a purely mutual company, all profits belong to policyholders. Death claims are promptly paid and liberal dividend payments to policyholders render the cost of insurance low.

The Vermont Life Insurance Company of Burlington was incorporated October 28, 1868, and commenced business January 1, 1869, with a paid-up capital of $100,000.

The report of the Vermont Insurance Commissioners shows the total admitted assets as of December 31, 1898, to have been $460,006.49, and the insurance in force $5,041.028.

On the first day of March, 1900, this company was sold to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York. Since that date there has been but one life insurance company resident in Vermont, the National Life Insurance Company.











UPPER LEFT—LUMBER MILL AT JEFFERSONVILLE UPPER RIGHT—BINGHAM'S FALLS
LOWER LEFT AND RIGHT—SMUGGLERS' NOTCH

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMER CAMPS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

The summer camp is a new thing, but it has won its way steadily and bids fair to become one of the many permanent opportunities open to the young people of our country to establish sound health, gain self reliance, and last but not least, learn to enjoy and appreciate God's out-of-doors. And to me there is no out-of-doors like Vermont.

—JENNETTE LOVEJOY SARGENT (1910).

Vermont not only has the distinction of having been the fourth State of all the States to become the location of one of the pioneer organized camps for boys, being preceded in that respect only by New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York, but today the Green Mountain State ranks third amongst the New England States in the number of camps for boys and girls. Though the increase in the number of its camps of this type has been very satisfactory from every point of view, it is believed by many, best qualified by experience and knowledge to form opinions on this matter, that undeveloped possibilities are available in the State which, if properly used, might easily result in putting Vermont into the first instead of the third place.

The accomplishment of this is desirable not so much for the sake of making a record, but because of the many real benefits derived by the State and its people from these camps, benefits which naturally become the greater, the larger the number of camps and campers grows. The most definite of these benefits, perhaps, is the influence exerted on taxation by the improvement with valuable camp buildings and equipment of tracts of land previously bringing little or no revenue and being, therefore, to the tax-paying owners a burden rather than an advantage. A specific example of the lowering of taxation resulting from the existence of a successful camp in a Vermont town is given by Dr. Sidney S. Negus, director of the Keewaydin camps for boys at Lake Dunmore, one of the oldest and most highly rated camps for boys in the United States. He tells, in a very interesting and authoritative article published in 1927 and extensively reprinted, of the case of one Vermont town, where by reason of the numbers of campers and their parents the town tax rate was reduced from four dollars on the grand list to one dollar and seventy-five cents. A similarly direct financial benefit is derived each summer by large numbers

of Vermonters, who live in the camping sections of the State, by the fact that the necessity on the part of these camps for buying equipment, food and other supplies and for employing a considerable number of people brings into local circulation a large amount of outside money and thus adds definitely to the wealth of the people and of the State. How important these two factors alone are, may easily be figured out from the fact that the sixty-three well-organized camps for boys and girls, in active operation in Vermont during 1927, owned real property and equipment valued at almost two million dollars and brought to the State an additional summer population of about 7,500 people, all of whom naturally spent a considerable amount of money individually and caused even larger sums to be spent in behalf of them for their maintenance, for their pleasure and for trips from their respective camps to other parts of the State. The indirect benefits derived from these camps, while more difficult to translate into dollars and cents or even to describe definitely, are nevertheless of great importance and value. First of all Vermont receives an incalculably large amount of advertising through these camps. With only negligible exceptions every camper becomes a booster of Vermont and of its resources and advantages. The presence in certain parts of Vermont during the greater part of each summer of a comparatively large number of boys and girls from good and usually well-to-do homes results in very many instances in one or more visits to these sections on the part of the campers' parents and other relatives, an appreciable proportion of whom turn into more or less permanent summer residents. This form of advertising, more valuable than any that can be bought for money, is by no means restricted only to the short summer season, for most of the camps hold winter reunions in various parts of the country, continuously enlisting the interest of new people, not previously acquainted with Vermont. Many other indirect benefits might be enumerated, not the least of which must be considered the fact that Vermont, by acting each year as host to thousands of growing boys and girls from all parts of the United States, renders a real service to them and, indeed, to the country at large.

Pioneer Camps in Vermont—The first organized camp for boys to be established in Vermont was St. Ann's Camp on Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain, opened in 1892 by the Marist Brothers of St. Ann's Academy, New York City, and still in active operation. Later Vermont boys' camps, established prior to and including 1910, were as follows: Camp Champlain, Mallets Bay, 1894; Camp Iroquois,

Mallets Bay, 1899; Camp Billings, South Fairlee, 1906; Kamp Kill Kare, St. Albans Bay, 1906; Camp Keewaydin, Lake Dunmore, 1908; Camp Winape, East Charleston, 1910. With the exception of Camp Champlain these are all still flourishing and attracting each year the best type of boys in ever-increasing numbers, and even Camp Champlain has disappeared only as far as its original name is concerned, being now known as the Brown-Ledge Camps.

The honor to have been the first Vermont camp for girls is claimed by Camp Barnard, Mallets Bay, established as long ago as 1903, still successfully active and maintained by the Barnard School of New York City, which also sponsors Camp Iroquois for boys. Other early girls' camps, established in Vermont between 1903 and 1910, include: Camp Aloha, Fairlee, 1905; Camp Farwell, Newbury, 1906; Hanoum Camps, Thetford, 1909; and Camp Hokomoko, Fairlee, 1910.

Amongst those who have been chiefly responsible for the development of boys' and girls' camps in Vermont, especially during that period when this development work still required the courage and vision of the pioneer, there should be particularly mentioned the following: Dr. and Mrs. C. H. Farnsworth of the Hanoum Camps, Thetford; Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Gulick, the latter a sister of Dr. Farnsworth, of Aloha Camp, Fairlee; Ellen Farnsworth, formerly of Aloha Hive, Ely, another sister of Dr. Farnsworth; Julia H. Farwell, formerly of Camp Farwell, Newbury; Ralph F. Perry, of Kamp Kill Kare, St. Albans Bay; W. L. Hazen and T. E. Lyon, of Camp Iroquois, Mallets Bay; S. W. Berry, of Camp Winape, East Charleston; and Judge A. S. Gregg Clarke, the founder of the Keewaydin Camps, now having several separate establishments for both boys and girls in various parts of Vermont. In one respect the last named should really head this list, for, though the first of the Keewaydin Camps did not locate in Vermont until 1910, Judge Clarke was one of the original pioneers in this country in the movement to establish organized camps for boys and girls, his first camp dating back to 1893.

Present-Day Camps in Vermont—It is, of course, not possible within the limits of this work to give a complete list of all camps for boys and girls in operation now in Vermont, either with or without detailed information regarding the equipment, purpose and size of each establishment. This information, so indispensable for the parents or guardians of children who plan to enjoy a healthful summer in the beautiful camping country within the State, can be secured most readily and completely by consulting the latest

edition of one of the well-known Sargent Handbooks, "Summer Camps," complied and published by Porter Sargent, Boston, Massachusetts. It is from this source chiefly that the following compilation has been made, so that a clear picture may be had of the present extent of the camp movement for boys and girls, as far as the State of Vermont is concerned.

Many of the finest camps are located in the Upper Connecticut Valley, considered by many lovers of nature one of the most beautiful regions of the United States. There, in the Thetford-Fairlee section, are to be found a number of girls' camps, which enjoy a national patronage, and in the special field of girls' camps this region is today one of the leading centres. Fifteen of these camps, a few of which are located on the New Hampshire side of the river, have organized the Upper Connecticut Valley Association and for several years have held an annual frolic, the interest in and the importance of which is growing year by year. In this part of Vermont are to be found the following boys' camps: Kokosing, Thetford Center; Lanakila, Fairlee; Passumpsic, Ely; Billings, Ely; Cheemauna, Sharon; Winneshewauka, Lunenburg. Girls' camps in this section are even more numerous and include: Hanoum, Thetford; Ken-Jockette, South Strafford; Wynona, Fairlee; Aloha Camp and Club, Fairlee; Aloha Hive, Ely; Beenadeewin Wigwam of the Keewaydin Camps, Ely; Wyoda, Ely; Billings, Ely; Neshobe, Ely; Lochearn, Ely; Quinibeck, Ely; Farwell, Newbury.

On the shores of beautiful Lake Memphremagog, thirty miles long and at certain points four miles wide, near Newport, are Camp Neperan and the Duncan Summer School and Camp, the latter combining most happily opportunities for study and outdoor life.

Famous Lake Champlain, with its many interesting historical associations, is a favorite location for camps of all kinds. On its shores are the following camps for boys: Maquam, Swanton; Kill Kare, St. Albans Bay; Kill Kare Tutoring Camp, St. Albans; St. Ann's, Isle La Motte; Abnaki, North Hero; Adventurers, South Hero; Iroquois, Mallets Bay; Geekaygee, Milton; Eagle Mountain, Milton. Here are also these camps for girls: Brown Ledge, Mallets Bay; Barnard, Mallets Bay; Kiniya, Milton; Aurora, Milton; Marbury, Vergennes; École Champlain, Ferrisburg.

Naturally the Green Mountains are in favor with campers and a very large number of camps for both boys and girls are to be found there. The former include: Wayeeses, West Charleston; Winape, East Charleston; Covered Wagon Pioneer Trails, Lake Averill; Kahagon, Hardwick; Lake Dunmore Wigwams of the Keewaydin



GORGE BELOW BELDEN'S FALLS

Camps, Salisbury; Zelenko, Brandon; Twin Lake, Brandon; Green Mountain, Hubbardton-Sudbury; Sangamon, Pittsford; Arrowhead, Poultney; Duncan Camp for Boy Building, Peru; Deerbrook, Townshend; Shelter, Marlboro; Enajerog, Wilmington; Brook Farm, East Dummerston; Kaaterskill, Pownal. Girls camps in the Green Mountains include: Songadeewin Wigwam of the Keewaydin Camps, Barton; Shanewis, Barton; Wihakowi, Northfield; Teela-Wooket, Roxbury; Killooleet, Hancock; Naidni, Brandon; Awanee, Brandon; Jolly Acres, Brandon; Kinni-Kinnic, Poultney; Novellah, Londonderry; Deerbrook, Townshend; Arden, Brattleboro.

Special Features of Vermont Camps—All of the camps mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, though widely differing in a number of ways from each other, share one characteristic. They are all owned and managed by responsible people, are operated in the most up-to-date and effective way, and maintain the best type of equipment. The directors of all are men and women with wide experience in respect to camp operation and to the management of boys and girls and many of them received their training in these fields in several of the larger and older Vermont camps. Their staffs of counsellors, in all instances large enough to assure careful supervision and guidance of the young campers, consists of men and women of the highest type, carefully chosen for their prior educational training and their characters. Then, too, the State, through its very efficient and modern Board of Health, exercises the most painstaking supervision in respect to sanitation, so that the protection of the health of the campers is absolutely safeguarded, at least as far as human foresight can do so.

Life in Vermont's camps, during the summer season, of course, does not differ very much from life in similar camps in other parts of the country. But the Vermont camps can rightfully claim that the programs, which they plan each season for their youthful guests, are formulated according to the most modern principles, assure a happy mixture of healthful recreation and careful character building, and are invariably carried out faithfully in accordance with pre-season announcements. In quite a few instances Vermont camps have taken the lead in instituting innovations, always for the purpose of increasing the usefulness of the camps rather than simply for the sake of doing something new. In all camps, of course, all forms of sports, carefully chosen for the different age groups, are the backbone of camp activities. Water and field sports, however, are always judiciously mixed with other activities, such as hiking, camping, wood craft, horseback riding, and nature study. Many of

the camps also provide opportunities for the exercise of their visitors' special gifts in dramatics, singing, and other artistic endeavors, while others also cater to the youthful desire to do creative work by supplying instruction in basket weaving, wood working, and similar useful endeavors. The religious life of the campers is carefully nurtured without being overemphasized. In most camps special arrangements can be made for those desiring to devote some of their time to study, either for the purpose of making up lost ground or for that of preparing for the year at school to come after the end of the happy summer months. Many of the camps develop such a strong spirit of loyalty in their campers, that alumni and alumnae organizations are formed, which materially help to carry on the best traditions of each camp, and most of the camps hold one or more reunions during the intervals between camping seasons. In some cases camps are even opened up for winter sports during the Christmas holidays. Thus, in these various ways, Vermont's camps constantly work to spread the truth about the State's many wonderful attractions and act as its advertising agents *par excel lence.*

The majority of camps, of course, cater to the average type of boys and girls and are owned and operated by private interests. There are, however, also a number of camps owned and conducted by organizations, which specialize in boys' and girls' work. Foremost amongst these, perhaps, are the several camps conducted by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, pioneers in that field. To this group belong Camp Billings, Fairlee Lake, Ely, Camp Abnaki, North Hero Island, Lake Champlain, and Camp Hochelaga, Lake Champlain, South Hero. The oldest of these is Abnaki, established in 1901 and conducted by the State Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Vermont. It caters to boys between the ages of twelve and twenty years, has an annual enrollment of some five hundred, and, with its very moderate rates, is of special importance to the State, because it provides healthful vacational opportunities to large numbers of the State's own youths. It has been in charge of the State Secretary, the late Byron N. Clark. Camp Billings, a memorial camp established originally through the liberality of the Billings family in 1907, receives both boys and girls between the ages of ten and nineteen years, enrolls each year several hundred young people, is maintained by the Windsor County Young Men's Christian Association and is directed by Mr. and Mrs. Archibald C. Hurd of White River Junction. In a somewhat more localized manner it serves the State along the lines of Camp Abnaki. Camp Hochelaga, established in 1920, is conducted for girls only by the

State Council of the Vermont Young Women's Christian Associations. Year by year it has grown and during its last season it received almost two hundred girls.

Several Boy Scouts Councils of Vermont also maintain camps for the members of their organizations, notably the Burlington Council with Camp Mohican at Winooski and the Rutland Council with Camp Sunrise at Orwell. Girl Scouts camps are maintained in several places and include Camp Overlook at Wilmington, Camp Avalon at Shaftsbury, Highland Shores at Greensboro, and Whispering Camp at Peacham.

Three Vermont camps place special emphasis on educational activities; Kill Kare Tutoring Camp at St. Albans, an offshoot of Kamp Kill Kare, St. Albans Bay, which is conducted by H. W. Heath, an instructor at the Lawrenceville School, New Jersey; the Duncan Summer School and Camp, Newport, conducted by William C. Duncan, an instructor at the Irving Lower School, Tarrytown, New York; and École Champlain, Ferrisburg, conducted by Edward D. Collins, Ph. D., formerly a member of the faculty of Middlebury College, where the study of French is made a specialty. The first two of these are for boys, the last for girls.

Though not, strictly speaking, within the province of this chapter, adult camps should be mentioned here briefly. Considering the unequalled advantages, which Vermont has to offer to the camper, it is only natural that many such camps should flourish in different parts of the State. They vary in size and purpose, but all of them enjoy great popularity and steadily increasing patronage. More than thirty of these are listed in Sargent's "Summer Camps." Most of them are owned and conducted by residents of other States, but quite a number of Vermonters are now successfully engaged in catering to the ever-growing desire of people to spend their vacations close to nature and relieved from some of the oppressing formalities of city life. Camps of this type, as well as those for boys and girls, undoubtedly will increase in numbers in Vermont in the years to come. For, though the State even now occupies a leading position as a camping ground for seekers of recreation and pleasure during the summer months, its possibilities for expansion in this field are almost unlimited and are being recognized more fully each year.



A GLIMPSE OF THE LONG TRAIL IN SOUTHERN VERMONT

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LONG TRAIL

The forested slopes of the Green Mountains are rich and full. The garments in which these swelling upthrusts are clothed are incomparably beautiful. Any one who has tramped over their flanks will never forget the endless aisles in the midst of tall columns of spruce trunks, the vaulted, dark ceiling overhead, or the great upspringing maples and the shining boles of birches. The paths through these are a rare delight.

—WALTER COLLINS O'KANE, in "Trails and Summits of the Green Mountains."

The Green Mountains—The popular appellation, by which the State of Vermont is known throughout the World, is "The Green Mountain State," proof of the fact that the mountain range, known as the Green Mountains, is popularly regarded as an outstanding feature of the State and that its most notable characteristic, the verdancy of its forests and slopes, leaves an indelible impression on those fortunate enough to refresh their eyes and minds with the beauty and magnificence so lavishly provided by nature. The Green Mountains, in their entirety, stretch from Hartford, Connecticut, into Lower Canada, extending through Massachusetts and Vermont. More specifically this name is applied to those mountain ranges, which extend through the State of Vermont, north to south, in an air line, one hundred and sixty miles in length. Their geological formation is composed of metamorphic slates, gneiss, quartz rock, limestone, and other paleozoic rocks of the Laurentian epoch and their great central ridgepole is of great antiquity, even in the terms by which geologists reckon time. Only slightly younger than the Adirondacks in the United States and the Laurentian Mountains in Canada, they come very near to being the oldest land, geologically speaking, in America. Their slopes are generally gentle or at least not very steep, with a prevailing dip of thirty to fifty degrees. With the disappearance of snow in the spring, these are covered with fine pastures of rich green grass and with forests of fir, pine, spruce, hemlock, sugar-maple, beech, birch, oak and other trees, forests that in most instances reach to the very summits of the highest peaks, though four of the five possessing the highest elevation are bare on top, Mansfield, Killington, Camel's Hump and Abraham. These conditions, which result in the characteristic verdancy of the entire range, led Champlain and his fellow-explorers, the first white men

to behold their beauty and grandeur, to baptize them with the name, by which they have been known ever since, The Green Mountains. The great central or ridgepole range of the Green Mountains begins beyond the Northern boundaries of the State, in the Province of Quebec. Where it crosses into Vermont the rugged slopes rise to an impressive culmination in Jay Peak, six miles south of the Vermont-Quebec border. For twenty-five miles south, as far as the valley of the Lamoille River, the mountains are scattered and irregular, without clearly defined or continuous axis. South of the Lamoille they form themselves into more definite lines with an accompanying narrowing of the principal ridgepole, the crest of which forms the summits of the three peaks of Sterling Mountain—Whiteface, Morse and the Madonna—and then, in a continuous sweep curving to the south, Mount Mansfield, the highest point in all the Green Mountains, Mounts Dewey, Clark, Mayo and Bolton. About ten miles to the southeast the main range is flanked here by a lesser, parallel system, the Worcester Mountains, with Mount Hunger, its slopes scarred by many forest fires and its summit entirely bare, rising to 3,554 feet. South of Mount Bolton the Winooski River breaks through the range, its bed in a remarkably low gap, only three hundred and thirty feet above sea level. Beyond the Winooski, the central chain rises again sharply for a distance of some sixty miles, this stretch containing many of the most commanding and beautiful summits of the Green Mountains, such as Camel's Hump or Crouching Lion, Allens, Burnt Rock, the Starks, Ellen, Abraham, the President Mountains, Bread Loaf, Horrid, Carmel, Pico, and, close to the southern end, Killington, the second highest peak in Vermont. Still further south the mountains again spread out more and lose somewhat in height, leaving, however, still a number of impressive summits, including White Rock Mountain, Mount Green, Tabor and Bromley. The next twenty miles are amongst the wildest in the Green Mountains, with Glastenbury Mountain, Bald Mountain, Mount Stratton and Haystack Mountain, one of the most precipitous. After another ten-mile stretch of wilderness the Green Mountains cross the Vermont-Massachusetts line, to continue into Connecticut, considerably lessened in height and impressiveness as compared with their Vermont sections. To the west of the southern end of the Vermont section of the Green Mountains are the Taconic Mountains, a group of rather disconnected lesser and greater summits, with such well-known peaks as Equinox near Manchester and Bird Mountain, west of Rutland. To the east of the main axis of the Green Mountains, in their northern

part, are granite upthrusts, two of which, Mount Pisgah and Mount Hor, form the impressive portal at the southern end of Willoughby Lake in Orleans County, while others, chiefly in the vicinity of Barre, yield the granite for which Vermont is famous the world over. Roads and, at three points, railroads cross the Green Mountains, the former frequently at high elevations, but what makes these mountains so attractive to the lover of nature, is the abundance of mountain trails and paths.

Early Green Mountain Trails—Just how far back the oldest trails in the Green Mountains date is not known, but there is not much doubt that they were in use long before what is now Vermont was settled by white men. They were, of course, made by the Indians and they were used for purely utilitarian purposes. Not until the white settlers had been in this region for a considerable time, did trails come into existence so that the magnificent views from the mountain heights might be enjoyed and, indeed, trail building for this purpose did not reach considerable proportions until recent years.

No accurate records exist today, which would make it possible to determine definitely, when the first of these comparatively modern mountain trails was established. But it is generally believed that the first path to be cut through to the top of any Vermont mountain was that to the summit of Ascutney, an event that occurred in 1825. The reason for its establishment is historically rather interesting, for the trail was made so that General Lafayette might visit this famous summit during his memorable tour of the United States. However, the French general found it impossible to carry out this plan and this particular trail soon disappeared. Another early trail was a rough path to the top of Mount Mansfield from the westerly side, in existence in 1847 and possibly earlier. Somewhat later mountain climbing in Vermont, like in other parts of New England, enjoyed for a considerable period comparative popularity. For a time it became fashionable to climb mountains on horseback and this brought about the building of bridle paths. The movement, however, proved to be only a passing fancy and the bridle paths quickly disappeared with its cessation. While it lasted, several paths and trails came into use and for some time greatly increased the number of visitors to some of the Green Mountain summits. Amongst these were a bridle path leading from Beartown Notch to a spur of Mount Equinox well toward the summit; several trails on Mount Mansfield, including one built in 1856 over Maple

Ridge to the Forehead, the Halfway House Trail completed in 1858, and the carriage road ascending the mountain from the east completed to the summit in 1868. On Camel's Hump a trail existed before 1860 and was developed into a bridle path giving access to a hotel erected about 1860. Another hotel was built on Killington Peak and to it, too, a road was cut through. With the exception of the Mount Mansfield enterprise, however, these undertakings did not prosper for any length of time and soon passed out of existence. Then followed a period of about half a century, during which interest in mountain climbing and mountain trails lay dormant, only a few individuals, here and there, continuing to climb to the summits and in some cases even to build paths. Amongst these were Theron Bailey, then owner of the Pavilion Hotel at Montpelier, who built a road on Mount Hunger during 1877-78, and Colonel Joseph Battell, who built a buckboard road up Mount Abraham and a trail along the skyline of Lincoln Mountain in 1899.

First Organized Efforts—With the beginning of the twentieth century came a revival of popular interest in mountain climbing, in Vermont, as well as elsewhere. In May, 1906, a number of Windsor residents formed the Ascutney Mountain Association. This was the pioneer mountain club in Vermont and was formed to preserve the natural beauty of the slopes and summit of Mount Ascutney, to cultivate a love for this mountain, and to encourage those appreciating its charm to make of this peak a resort for their pleasure and recreation. Even earlier, volunteers had made a good trail to the summit and erected there a substantial stone house, containing a good stove and affording free sleeping accommodations for twenty people. In 1906 the people of Weathersfield erected a log house of like capacity on Weathersfield Peak. Even during these early days several thousand people each season visited the summit, and the annual Labor Day picnic, held there, became a well-established and well-patronized club feature. One of the most enthusiastic members of the Ascutney Association, Albion E. Lang, of Cornish, New Hampshire, purchased a tract of sixty acres covering the entire summit of the mountain, which he later, aided by the generosity of Allen W. Evarts of New York City and others, gave to the Ascutney Mountain Association to be maintained perpetually as a park for the people. So that this association might be able to hold this gift and its other property and to administer it to the best advantage, it was incorporated by act of the Vermont Legislature.

In the spring of 1908 another club was organized at Waterbury to promote the use of Camel's Hump by making trails and by main-



A TRAMPING PARTY ON THE TRAIL

taining a camp on its summit. An old path was opened and improved and tents for lodging were put up, these being later, beginning with 1912, supplanted by three houses of galvanized iron. A caretaker was maintained on the summit and visitors were made welcome and comfortable. About 1910 Colonel Battell, whose interest in Vermont's mountains has already been mentioned, gave the summit of Camel's Hump to the State of Vermont, to be maintained perpetually as a park for its people.

By 1910, in which year the modern era of trail construction in the Green Mountains commenced, there were in use paths to the summits of eight or ten of Vermont's higher mountains, including Ascutney, Camel's Hump, Haystack, Equinox, Jay Peak, Killington, Lincoln and Mansfield.

Founding of the Green Mountain Club—The year of 1910 looms large in the history of the popularization of the Green Mountains. For it was then that the Green Mountain Club was founded and ever since then this organization and its members have devoted themselves zealously to arousing a greater interest in and appreciation of the Green Mountains and to making it easier for lovers of nature to visit them. The credit for bringing into existence this club, which has done so much during the last two decades to spread the fame of the mountains, after which it has been named, belongs to James P. Taylor, then associate principal of Vermont Academy at Saxtons River, and now secretary of the Vermont State Chamber of Commerce. Not only was Mr. Taylor himself an enthusiastic lover of outdoor life and especially of mountain climbing, but he had also observed how beneficial hiking and climbing proved to the boys of his school. Having climbed all of the main peaks of the Green Mountains, he had at times experienced misadventures due to the poor condition or entire lack of trails. Caught in rain storms on mountain tops without any shelter available, he had come to appreciate the need of providing camps and huts. Meeting others on his mountain excursions only comparatively rarely, he constantly regretted that the wonderful opportunities for recreation remained so sadly unused. In his talks with the people of Vermont he discovered that they were almost incredibly apathetic concerning their mountains and their wonderful possibilities. Bearing in mind these facts and experiences and being a man of action, he discussed the matter with some fellow-enthusiasts about mountain climbing at a State Teachers' Convention held at Burlington in March, 1910, and soon afterwards called a meeting for the purpose of forming

a Green Mountain Club. This meeting was held at Burlington, March 11, 1910, with twenty-three persons present, including the following: James P. Taylor, Saxtons River, Associate Principal, Vermont Academy; M. E. Wheeler, Rutland, manufacturer and former owner of the hotel on Killington; W. H. Spence, Rutland, pastor, Congregational Church; Frank H. Clark, Windsor, lawyer, and writer for Windsor "Journal"; O. K. Hollister, Barre, Principal, Goddard Seminary; H. G. Thomas, Stowe, State Fish and Game Commissioner; Seneca Haselton, Burlington, Judge, Supreme Court; Elwin L. Ingalls, Hartford, Superintendent of Schools; Carroll H. Drown, Wallingford, Superintendent of Schools; Arthur W. Eddy, Bristol, Superintendent of Schools; Frank E. Sawyer, Vergennes, Principal of High School; C. W. Brownell, Burlington, lawyer and ex-Secretary of State; J. L. Southwick, Burlington, editor Burlington "Free Press"; H. C. Whitehill, Waterbury, editor, Waterbury "Record"; K. R. B. Flint, Northfield, Professor, Norwich University; J. E. Tracy, Burlington, writer, Burlington "Daily News"; M. D. Chittenden, Burlington, Principal, High School; Mason S. Stone, Montpelier, State Superintendent of Education; Clarence P. Cowles, Burlington, lawyer; Edward K. Allen, Burlington, secretary Young Men's Christian Association; C. H. Morrill, Randolph, Principal, Norwich School; D. T. Page, Bakersfield, Principal, Brigham Academy; C. W. Gates, Franklin, State Highway Commissioner and later Governor. Before this group of representative Vermonters separated, the Green Mountain Club was officially organized and a constitution adopted. James P. Taylor was elected its first president, Judge Seneca Haselton vice-president, Elwin L. Ingalls secretary, and Hon. C. W. Brownell treasurer. Later Dr. Louis J. Paris became secretary and carried out a remarkable program of publicity, preparing many illustrated articles, drawing many maps, and attending promptly to an extensive correspondence. Amongst others, who took a leading part in the work of arousing interest in the new club and in the task of trail building, should be especially mentioned Charles P. Cooper, Willis M. Ross, Judge Clarence P. Cowles, Fred W. Mould, J. Lawrence Griswold, Rev. Frank W. Hazen, and Theron S. Dean, as well as some others, who will be mentioned later on.

Purposes and Growth of the Green Mountain Club—In his original call for the organizing meeting Mr. Taylor had stated the purposes of the Green Mountain Club as follows: "The work of the Club would be to awaken an interest in the mountains of Vermont, to encourage mountain climbing, to make trails, build shelters, and

aid in the preparation of maps and guidebooks." In its constitution they were summed up more briefly, though no less admirably, as follows: "The object of the Club shall be to make the Vermont Mountains play a larger part in the life of the people." Inasmuch as the membership consists of residents of all sections of the Green Mountains and inasmuch as the Club planned to accomplish its objects through the active participation of its members in its work rather than through their financial support, which was set at a nominal figure only, it was felt that this could not be done except by some special form of organization. It was, therefore, decided to form sections, each section to assume the development of its nearest mountain. To a certain extent the sections are practically independent clubs, free to carry out their own plans, as best suits them and local conditions, but never forgetting that the purposes and projects of the Green Mountain Club were also those of every section. Uniformity of sectional printed matter, such as guidebooks and other descriptive material, was established from the outset, so that the accumulating work of the various sections could eventually be combined into one volume and become the official guidebook of the Green Mountain Club. Members, amongst whom now may be found many friends of Vermont and its mountains not residents of the State, are entitled to a copy of each map or booklet published by any section, free of cost. Today the Club, which has grown and prospered greatly, publishes numerous attractive, helpful and informative booklets, maps and other literature, chief among these being the "Long Trail Guide."

The first section of the Club was organized at Burlington, August 8, 1910, under the name of the Mount Mansfield Section, with an original membership of ten enthusiasts. By October of that year this had grown to ninety-five, including a number of ladies. No trail construction was carried out during 1910, but logging roads were explored and promising routes were tried out for new trails. Somewhat later a Killington Section was organized under the leadership of C. P. Cooper and W. M. Ross. A through route along the skyline was available from the summit of Camel's Hump to Smugglers' Notch by the end of 1911, Judge Cowles and Judge Haselton being especially active in its construction. That year also saw the organization of a Bread Loaf Section and of two other sections, at Brandon and at Rutland. W. M. Adams continued the trail north from Smugglers' Notch to Sterling Pond in 1912 and in the same year the Club concluded an arrangement with the State Forestry Department, providing that the latter was to carry out a program of trail

building with funds raised by the former. For this purpose a considerable sum was made available by the supporters of the Club, resulting in the opening of a trail south from Camel's Hump, and by August, 1913, a through trail from Camel's Hump to Killington Peak was open. In that year, too, the building of shelters was started, the first three being log lean-tos at Birch Glen, at Bread Loaf Glen, and south of Mount Horrid, all made possible by the generosity of Miss Emily Proctor, who provided the necessary funds for this project. In 1914 a Bennington Section was formed, which at once began work looking toward the making of a trail to connect the existing trails with the Vermont-Massachusetts line in the south, while in the same year in the northern part a path was opened from Sterling Pond to Johnson on the Lamoille River by a newly organized section in that district. Early in 1915 the first Guidebook of the Green Mountain Club was issued, a reprint of a newspaper article originally published in the Burlington "Free Press" under the title "Along the Skyline over the Long Trail." Sixty-eight thousand copies of this booklet were distributed through the coöperation of the State Publicity Department, railroads, hotels and numerous interested individuals. Many other newspapers, too, published similar articles and the publicity resulting from these various efforts greatly stimulated popular interest in the main project of the Club, the opening up of the Long Trail, a continuous trail from the Massachusetts to the Canadian line, along the skyline of the Green Mountains. Actual trail construction, however, had rather lagged during some three years, at least as far as modern trails along the summits were concerned. It was revived, however, through the liberality of Professor Will S. Monroe, then a member of the summer school faculty of the University of Vermont and for many years an enthusiastic mountaineer and trail builder. He began his notable work between Camel's Hump and the Lincoln-Warren Pass in June, 1916, assisted by several New York friends and by a number of Vermonters, including Alden Paris, Judge Cowles, J. E. Woodruff, Theron S. Dean and Philip D. Camberlin. Resuming his work in 1917, it eventually resulted, by October of that year, in the completion of a fifty-mile stretch of modern trails from the valley of the Winooski to Middlebury Gap and was christened by the Club in his honor, "The Monroe Skyline." In the meantime a New York City Section had also been organized in 1916, followed later by one formed at Middlebury under the name of Lake Pleiad Section. Several new lodges and shelters, too, had been erected at different points.



LONG TRAIL LODGE

Upper Left—Entrance to Long Trail Lodge. (Note white blaze beside mammoth door pull.) The Long Trail is marked for 350 miles with white painted blazes on the trees and here passes through the Lodge.

Upper Right—Stairs to front entrance Long Trail Lodge. (The Long Trail ascends these stairs to main floor of building.)

Below—Long Trail Lodge at Sherburn Pass, ten miles east of Rutland. (The Long Trail is a 350-mile footpath over all of Vermont's highest peaks.)

The year 1917 brought the incorporation of the Green Mountain Club, a step enabling the organization to hold property in its name and to perform its steadily expanding work more effectively. It also brought the publication of an enlarged guidebook, which was the first real guidebook, containing full directions for following trails and including three maps. On Killington a new model camp came into being. C. P. Cooper, until then chairman of the trails committee, about that time, became president of the Club. Together with Willis M. Ross, he did most of the work of planning and clearing the trail from Killington to Prospect Rock. By the time the Club was ten years old, in 1920, it was able to make the announcement that a continuous trail was open from the Massachusetts line north to Johnson on the Lamoille River, a distance of 209 miles as the trail goes. From then on trail and shelter building progressed steadily, not only in the main group of the Green Mountains, but also in its lesser groups, and new sections of the Club were formed all the time. In 1923 the Long Trail was extended still further north, from Johnson to Belvidere Mountain, this work being carried out with funds provided by Ex-Lieutenant-Governor Roger W. Hulburd. In the same year, too, a beautiful new club house was built in Shelburne Pass, made possible by the generosity of Mortimer R. Proctor and Mrs. Fletcher D. Proctor. It is now officially known by the name of "Long Trail Lodge." Though erected primarily for the convenience of members, the facilities of this fine place are available also to their guests and, as far as the dining room is concerned, to the general public. Since 1923 many other additions have been made to the system of trails and to the group of lodges and shelters, and the club house, as well as some previously built shelters, camps, lodges, and trails, were improved, activities which became possible on this steadily increasing scale by the growing membership of the Green Mountain Club, and which became necessary by the growing interest in the Green Mountains on the part of people from all sections of the country. By 1929 the Club had fourteen hundred members, both men and women, a large number of whom constantly further the activities of the Club by volunteer work, especially during their summer vacations. Its publicity work, which has been of great benefit to the entire State of Vermont, is carried out from its headquarters at Rutland, while its "Long Trail Lodge," so conveniently located where the motor highway crosses the main range of the Green Mountains from Woodstock to Rutland, and yet in the very heart of the mountains, year by year welcomes more and more enthusiastic visitors.

To Affiliate with the Appalachian Trails—At the annual meeting of the Green Mountain Club, held in Rutland, January 14, 1929, announcement was made of the proposal to build three new shelter houses along the two hundred and fifty mile skyline and steps were taken to affiliate with the Appalachian trails. President Mortimer R. Proctor, of Proctor, presided and was reëlected one of the trustees, as were the following:

Professor L. B. Puffer, Burlington; Professor R. H. White, Professor P. C. Voter, Middlebury; Willis M. Ross, clerk, Cola J. Cleveland, Rutland; Fred N. Tucker, Boston; Walter Collins O'Kane, Durham, New Hampshire; J. A. Allis, Raymond H. Torrey, New York; G. F. E. Storey, Worcester, Massachusetts; Captain Herbert Wheaton Congdon, Arlington; Wallace M. Fay, Proctor; Robert M. Ross, State forester, Montpelier; Edward S. Marsh, Brandon. In place of Lawrence Griswold of Bennington, Dr. Lucretius H. Ross of that town was elected a trustee.

Willis M. Ross, who is chairman of the trails committee, stated that the club had received from a donor who wished his name withheld a gift of five hundred dollars to be used in construction of a permanent shelter camp on the Long Trail. The site is yet to be chosen, the convenience of a supply of suitable building material being a factor which will determine this. Mr. Ross stated that the Blue Triangle Club of the Young Women's Christian Association will build a shelter at Little Rock Pond, east of South Wallingford, and the Fred H. Tucker lodge will be erected at Hazen's Notch in the northern part of the State, crossed by an historic road.

It was voted to authorize the committee to take steps looking towards the affiliation of the Green Mountain Club with an association composed of several divisions of the Appalachian Club. Judge Arthur Perkins of Hartford, Connecticut, a member of the Vermont Club, in the interests of uniting all the trails from Mount Katahdin in Maine to Georgia, taking the Long Trail as a link, sketched a route crossing the Hudson River on Bear Mountain Bridge, to go through the Delaware Water Gap, follow an old towpath along the Potomac for some distance to Harper's Ferry, take trampers over the highest ridges in Virginia and the Carolinas and end some distance off the northern boundary of Georgia.

Each section of the Green Mountain Club gave a brief report of the past year's accomplishments. Bennington section, which has territory north to Hell Hollow, reported a new cabin on the summit of Glastenbury peak, two other new shelters, repairs on a fourth.



OTTER CREEK, NEAR RUTLAND, SHOWING MT. KILLINGTON AND MT. SHREWSBURY,
BOTH NOW IN THE NEWLY NAMED COOLIDGE RANGE

The Worcester, Massachusetts, section took over the trail from Hell Hollow to Webster Camp. Much repairing and re-location of a section of trail on Glastenbury to avoid a swamp were reported. From Webster Camp to Lake Griffith the trail is not assigned to any particular section but an effort is being made to organize a group to take it over.

With the long stretch from Griffith to the Sherburne Pass to look after, Rutland section had a busy season. Much brushing out was done and two caretakers were maintained on Mount Killington through the season. This proved a big factor in protecting property and furnished better service to trampers, W. M. Ross, trails committee head, stated.

The Proctor section, which patrols the trail from Sherburne Pass to the Brandon-Rochester Road, put up a steel tower on Mount Carmel through a gift of former Governor Redfield Proctor. Three shelters have been built or put in good order.

The pathway between Brandon-Rochester Pass and Lincoln-Warren Pass is assigned to the Middlebury section, which did much work through the coöperation of Professor and Mrs. Harrington and students of Middlebury College. "Blazes" have been repainted and two side trails laid out. One of these will take hikers out of Bread Loaf Glen, which is a fire hazard in dry weather. The section has repaired Emily Proctor lodge and material has been drawn into the woods for a new lodge on Bread Loaf Mountain.

What is admitted to be the most scenic part of the trail, that from the Lincoln road north to Bolton, is the assignment of the New York section of the club. A written report was given showing how work in the Green Mountains had fostered interest in trips afoot about New York City. This section had more problems than any other to face in reconstruction after the flood.

The big item in the work of the Burlington section the past season was the erection at a cost of some eight hundred dollars of an enclosed shelter on Bolton Mountain. It has done much work on Mount Mansfield. The trail north of Mansfied has not been neglected as indicated by reports of Fred W. Mould of Morrisville and others who did the work individually. The club membership is 1,594, with New York section 362, the largest.

The Long Trail—Today, less than twenty years after the founders of the Green Mountain Club conceived the idea, in 1910, of building a continuous skyline trail from the Vermont-Massachusetts line to the Vermont-Canada line, their vision has been realized. How it has grown, step by step, has already been told. Detailed

descriptions of the trail, with maps and full directions, may be found in the guide books and pamphlets published by the Club. A very excellent and interesting account of its history and its attractions, given in much detail, has been compiled by Walter Collins O'Kane in his recently published book, "Trails and Summits of the Green Mountains." In one of its most recent folders the Green Mountain Club speaks of this creation of its admirable activities as follows: "From end to end of the Green Mountains the Long Trail unrolls its winding way, up and down mountain slopes, across valleys and over peaks, from the Massachusetts line to Canada. It is unique, beautiful, and inviting. In all of the eastern mountains there is no footpath like this: easily accessible in every part, readily approached by motor roads, promptly reached by train if one desires; ready to receive you for a day, a week, or a month; giving access to a magnificent, unspoiled wilderness."

The Long Trail begins at the Massachusetts-Vermont line, where it is easily reached from North Adams and other points, and extends in a northerly direction two hundred and forty miles to the foot of the slopes of Jay Peak, close to the Canadian line. From south to north it crosses a series of highways, some of which are motor thoroughfares and others country roads less visited by the tourist, making it easily accessible in all its parts. There are also many approach trails, making possible a large number of half-day or one-day trips. On the west side of the long range of mountains that the Trail follows the Rutland Railroad is within easy reach, while on the east side the Central Vermont gives quick access at a number of points. Motor highway connections are such that one may reach the Trail in a comparatively short time from practically any eastern city.

The Long Trail is an open, well-marked path, which any one can follow safely and easily. Mile after mile, along the Trail, white painted "blazes" on the trunks of trees shine out to let the hiker know that he is on the right route. In the course of its journey it attains the summits of such well-known peaks as Stratton, 3,859 feet, Killington, 4,241 feet, Pico, 3,967 feet, Bread Loaf, 3,823 feet, Lincoln, 4,135 feet, Camel's Hump or Crouching Lion, 4,083 feet, Mansfield, 4,393 feet, and many others. As it crosses these summits, panoramas open out that sweep over the White Mountains to the east and over the Adirondacks to the west. The views are ever changing, ever beautiful, sweeping to every point of the compass and taking in a radius of fifty miles or more. Sometimes the Trail skirts the border of a forest-rimmed lake, following the curving



IRVING D. APPLEBY, OF ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, TITLE HOLDER
OF VERMONT'S MOUNTAIN MARATHON

shore-line. There are camping places and shelters near lakes and streams. For many miles the path leads through woods of singular beauty, full of spruce, fir, birch, maple and other trees of virgin beauty. As it surmounts the higher peaks, the Trail crosses summits of Alpine character, where tree growth gives way to low scrub, and that in turn to bare rock. Arctic plants grow in these places. No part of the Trail is difficult or dangerous and no guides are necessary.

Long Trail Hiking Records—In ever-increasing numbers the Long Trail each summer season attracts the lover of nature and outdoor life. Many of these are summer residents of nearby resorts, who tramp certain sections of the Trail as a regular part of their stay. Others come purely for the purpose of following the Trail, some for a day, some for a week or two, and some for longer periods. All of them are enthusiastic about their experiences and, many of them coming from different sections of the country, spread the fame of the Trail, the Green Mountains and the Green Mountain State throughout the breadth and length of the United States. Several notable hiking records have been made along the Trail. The most remarkable of these is that made by Irving C. Appleby of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who has twice covered the entire length of the Trail in one continuous hike during two successive summers. The first year his record time was twelve days and five hours, which he cut down the following year to ten days and ten hours, a record never before even approached, much less equalled or exceeded. Mr. Appleby, who served during the World War with the Canadian Black Watch Regiment in France with such distinction that he was decorated with the Distinguished Service Medal, has been an enthusiastic long-distance hiker since his boyhood and his previous experience and training, of course, were important factors in enabling him to establish his two records. His actual hiking distance on both his trips was about three hundred miles, from Williamstown, Massachusetts, to North Troy, Vermont. During his last trip, on which he carried a special pack based on his war experiences, he slept in the open three nights and in cabins the other six nights. His remarkable performance, about which he has written several interesting articles, received a great deal of publicity in the daily newspapers, publicity which was very helpful in spreading the fame of the Trail and of the Green Mountains. Another record, less remarkable for the time consumed than for the fact that it represented the first successful accomplishment of the complete trip over the Trail on the part of women, has been made by three young ladies,

Misses Hilda M. Kurth and Kathleen M. Norris of Schenectady, New York, and Catherine E. Robbins of Cornwall, New York, who covered the Williamstown-North Troy hike of some three hundred miles in twenty-seven days of actual hiking time. No special effort was made by them to cover the entire Trail in record time, their preference being for allowing everywhere sufficient time to enjoy fully all the attractions and charms offered by the trip. In the future other records over the Long Trail will undoubtedly be established and it is equally certain that the number of people who will hike over the Trail, wholly or partly, will grow year by year, as more and more people everywhere will come to learn of and to appreciate this God-given spot of beauty and source of health and recreation, The Long Trail along the skyline of the Green Mountains of Vermont.





MISSES ROBBINS, KURTH, AND NORRIS, THE ONLY THREE WOMEN CONQUERORS OF THE LONG TRAIL

CHAPTER XIX

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN VERMONT

I s'pose mos' ev'ry body t'ink hees job 's about de hardes'
From de boss man on de Government to poor man on de town,
From de curé to de lawyer, an' de farmer to de school boy
An' all de noder feller was mak' de world go roun'.

But dere's wan man got hees han' full t'roo ev'ry kin' of wedder
An' he's never sure of not'ing but work an' work away—
Dat's de man dey call de Doctor, w'en you ketch heem in de countree
An' he's only man I know-me, don't get no holiday.

—WILLIAM HENRY DRUMMOND.

Rudyard Kipling, who knows Vermont intimately from having lived within the State and who has written in some of his travel letters with admiration of its winters, once, at a medical banquet, held in London, referred in a speech to Vermont's doctors and their work in very complimentary terms. At that occasion he observed that he had seen doctors in Vermont carry on a practice over a radius of twenty miles, frequently being obliged to drive through eight feet of snow in order to reach their patients and finding it necessary at times to dig their horses out of drifts, before they could proceed. In concluding these remarks, the famous English author said that it was one of the proudest memories of his life to have been associated with the "real fighting men of this type." Coming from as keen an observer and judge of men as Mr. Kipling, this high compliment to the medical men of Vermont is not to be regarded lightly, but on the other hand it may be accepted literally, because it describes very accurately Vermont doctors, the conditions under which they frequently labor, and their keen sense of duty. Even though Mr. Kipling spent one winter in Vermont, became intimately acquainted with at least one general practitioner and is known to possess exceptional powers of observation, it is rather remarkable that he should have discerned so quickly and clearly that Vermont's so-called country doctors were, perhaps, most representative of all that is best in regard to the medical profession in the State.

Of course, considerable time has passed and conditions in Vermont, like everywhere else, have greatly changed, since Rudyard Kipling lived there toward the end of the nineteenth century. Today Vermont occupies a position in respect to its medical men and their work fully worthy of the progress made during the last three

decades by medical science and medical men. It has a most effectively active Department of Health, employing the most modern and scientific methods to protect public health, to fight disease and to improve constantly public sanitation and welfare. Its State University has as one of its most useful departments a School of Medicine of the highest professional standing. Its hospitals and other medical institutions, both public and private, are constantly being improved and need not fear comparison with similar institutions in other States, which, more populous and wealthier, may, perhaps, be able to spend more money and have larger and more hospitals than Vermont, but cannot claim superiority in respect to quality. Its cities contain able and highly trained specialists of all kinds, making available to Vermonters the latest medical knowledge and discoveries. But in spite of these facts it is still the country doctor and the general practitioner in the cities and towns who is the very backbone of the medical profession today, as he has been in the past.

Pioneer Physicians of Vermont—As soon as the region between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain received its first flow of immigration, doctors began to make their appearance. With the pioneering spirit, which is so often an outstanding characteristic of medical men, they took their full share in the gradual development of the new settlements. During the difficult years of the Revolutionary War period, as well as during the more peaceful times following they made many important contributions to the health and happiness of the people. Dr. Charles S. Caverly, one of the outstanding figures in the medical profession of Vermont during modern times, in an article of historical interest published in 1903, speaks thus of these early Vermont doctors: "Vigorous in mind and body, students of nature, human and other, resourceful and courageous in trying times, readers and thinkers withal, they have occupied a conspicuous place in our social and domestic life. They have traveled our mountain roads at all seasons, in all weather, at all hours; afoot, on horseback, in gig or carriage, 'the doctor' has been part of our history."

One of the most prominent of Vermont's pioneer doctors was Dr. Stephen Powers, grandfather of the famous American sculptor, Hiram Powers. One of the earliest settlers of Woodstock, he was, according to Dana's "History of Woodstock," a stalwart man, physically well adapted to his calling in a new country. He always wore buck-skin trousers, which, aside from their durability, were also

very convenient for sharpening his surgical instruments, aseptic surgery being then unknown. His practice extended over a wide territory and in winter he sometimes had to make his way on snowshoes following a trail of blazed trees. Present at the battle of Bunker Hill, he helped to dress wounds at this historic occasion.

One of Brattleboro's patentees and its first town clerk was Dr. Henry Wells, who afterwards became a distinguished practitioner in Massachusetts.

Dr. Jonathan Arnold, the principal proprietor of the towns of Lyndon, Billymead (now Sutton) and St. Johnsbury, had been a member of Congress from Rhode Island and had served as a surgeon in the War of the Revolution. He is reported to have supplied to the State its medical chest, in consideration of which patriotic act he received his charter fees. The first frame house erected in St. Johnsbury was built by him.

Another Revolutionary patriot was Dr. Jonas Fay, who came to Bennington in 1766. He was surgeon with Ethan Allen's expedition against Ticonderoga, a prominent member of the Council of Safety, secretary to the convention which formulated Vermont's Constitution, agent of the State to the Continental Congress, and for many years a successful and useful physician.

Dr. Reuben Jones of Rockingham, too, was an ardent patriot and supporter of Vermont's independence, as was Dr. Paul Spooner of Hartford, who also was a member of the Council of Safety.

There were other Vermont doctors, who served as surgeons in the Revolutionary War. Dr. Silas Hodges of Clarendon was a surgeon in the Continental Army and was a member of Washington's military family. Dr. Frederick Aubrey of Bradford was said to have been a surgeon in the British Army and to have dressed General Wolfe's wounds before Quebec. Dr. Jacob Roebeck of Grand Isle was a surgeon with the German troops sent to this country by King George III, and was present at Hubbardton and Bennington. After the war he practiced on the Island and, though somewhat addicted to strong drink, was highly esteemed for his skill as a physician. It is reported that he could not spare the money to buy his drugs and therefore sought them in the fields and woods, saying that "Indian hemp was good for dropsy, spigot root for internal bruises, the bark of the red willow a sure remedy for fever and ague, burdock root with black cherry and white ash bark steeped in cider the very best remedy for spring jaundice."

Amongst other successful and highly regarded physicians, who practiced in Vermont early in its history, were Dr. Ebenezer Marvin

of Tinmouth, enjoying a large practice in Western Vermont and later serving as chief judge of Chittenden and Franklin counties. Dr. Edward Lamb of Montpelier stood very high in that part of the State and apparently enjoyed the fullest confidence of his fellow-physicians, it being reported that during the spotted fever epidemic of 1813, fourteen physicians, who themselves had been stricken, placed themselves under his care.

Only one single case of non-support of the Revolution on the part of a Vermont doctor is recorded in the history of the medical profession in the State, that of Dr. Samuel Adams of Arlington. For the violent language, in which he indulged with reference to the Green Mountain Boys, he was sentenced to be suspended for two hours, high in air, in a chair, at the Catamount sign-post in Bennington.

The life of these early medical men was fraught with many hardships, difficulties and even dangers. According to Mrs. Hemenway, Dr. Adam Johnson of Danby, returning home late on horseback, was attacked by wolves. Finding the pack was closing in on his horse, he finally was forced to divert them by throwing his saddle-bags among them, remarking afterwards that these bags saved life that night if never before. In Dr. Caverly's article, already mentioned, we find another interesting reference to the routine life of Vermont doctors during the early part of the nineteenth century, based on the recollections of the late Dr. C. C. P. Clark, of Oswego, New York, in reference to his father, Dr. Theophilus Clark. The latter, a familiar figure for many years in Rutland County, was a remarkable man in many ways and a typical doctor of the old school, who lived and practiced in Tinmouth until he was almost a hundred years old. According to his son his chief characteristics were close observation, great thoughtfulness and entire independence of judgment. His practice kept him very busy, and his son says that "most rare was the day, through all the years of my youth, when 'Old Sorrel' was not saddled or 'Old Gray' harnessed and always by the hands of his master, to take this family doctor down through 'The Hollow' and back by 'The Springs' (Clarendon Springs)."

Dr. Caverly also relates some interesting facts about the fees of these early doctors, which, he says, were probably in harmony with the early ways of living and quite likely showed then as now some discrepancy between the doctor's charges and his collections. From the books of an early Vermont doctor, Dr. Samuel White, of Newbury, who began practice in that town in 1773 and for many years was *the doctor* of the Connecticut Valley, his ride extending from

Newbury to the Canadian border, he quotes the following entry: "September 10th, 1784. To visit 2/ Physic 1/ Emet 1/ Bleeding 1/ Sal Nitre 1/-6." For the preservation of this historically interesting fact Dr. Caverly gives credit to Dr. Bartlett, of Hanover, the latter also reporting the following interesting observations, likewise based on Dr. White's books: "The least charge for a visit is one shilling and the greatest (to Upper Coos) is sixty shillings. . . . Medicine was usually one shilling for each potion, occasionally two shillings; bleeding was always one shilling; tooth pulling, one shilling; dressing a wound, one shilling; lancing a sore, one shilling; setting an arm or a leg, six shillings; 'attendance on your wife in travel,' twelve shillings."

In this connection it is interesting to know that in very many cases no doctor was in attendance at the time of childbirth, the great distances and poor roads making it, of course, impossible always to reach a physician promptly. In such cases, in early Vermont as, indeed, in many other places, midwives took the place of the doctors. Regarding one of these, who was the wife of one of the early settlers of Marlborough, a manuscript history of Marlborough reports that "Mrs. Whitmore was exceedingly useful to the early settlers, both as a nurse and midwife. She possessed an uncommonly strong constitution and frequently traveled through the woods upon snowshoes, from one part of the town to another, both by day and night, to relieve the sick and afflicted. During her life she officiated as midwife at more than 2,000 births and never lost a patient." Elsewhere it is recorded that the first child born in Hartland was ushered into the world by a midwife, whom the father had drawn upon a sled from Charlestown over the ice for a distance of twenty-four miles.

According to Dr. Caverly, doctors in these early days were invariably their own druggists and, indeed, carried their drugstores with them. In reference to the contents of the doctors' medicine chests and saddlebags, he quotes these amusing lines:

> his stock in trade,
> A mighty arsenal to subdue disease,
> Of various names, whereof I mention these;
> Lancets and bougies, great and little squirt,
> Rhubarb and Senna, Snakeroot, Thoroughwort,
> Ant, Tart, Vin., Colch., Pil., Cochiæ and black drop,
> Tinctures of Opium, Gentian, Henbane, Hop,
> . . . . . .
> Jalap, that works not wisely, but too well,
> Ten pounds of Bark and six of Calomel.

Early Medical Education—During the early days of Vermont those of its youths who desired to obtain a medical education, only in rare instances attended a medical college but "read" medicine with some established physician, qualified for practice by a Medical Society. In this respect the young Vermonter did not differ from his fellow-students elsewhere. Naturally those physicians whose practice was largest and whose reputation was highest received most requests from young students for instruction. Most of the best-known practitioners continuously had at least one, and often more, such students, who in this manner gained their first knowledge of the fundamentals and of the technicalities of medical science.

Vermont can lay claim to having been the birthplace of one of the outstanding figures in the field of medical education in New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was Dr. Nathan Smith, who was not only one of the greatest authorities of his time on medical and surgical subjects and one of the leading surgeons of that period, but also possessed exceptional executive and organizing ability and became the founder of three of the oldest and best medical colleges in New England, Dartmouth, Yale and Bowdoin. Though his work eventually resulted in his leaving Vermont, there were many other able physicians left, who freely imparted their knowledge to others. Amongst these should be especially mentioned Drs. Ford of Cornwall, Gridley of Castleton, Pomeroy of Burlington, and Gallup of Woodstock. Dr. Frederick Ford, very successful and original in his practice and one of the first to use hydrotherapy, always had many students and, when he built a new house, planned it so that he could accommodate them more conveniently. The other three doctors just named likewise had many students, and it was this constantly growing demand for private instruction, which eventually led to the foundation of the only three medical schools, which have ever been regularly recognized in Vermont. In this manner Dr. Gridley became the founder of Castleton Medical College, Dr. Gallup of Vermont Medical College, and Dr. Pomeroy of the medical department of the University of Vermont. Of the two former a brief account will follow, a similar history of the last named being omitted here, because it has already been related in another chapter.

Castleton Medical College—The original name of this institution, according to its charter, granted October 20, 1818, was the Castleton Medical Academy. It owed its foundation chiefly to Dr. Selah Gridley, who, born in 1767 at Farmington, Connecticut, came to

Castleton in 1795 and there established a very extensive practice and a very high reputation. Together with Dr. Theodore Woodward and Dr. John L. Cazier, he began to give a regular course of medical lectures in March, 1818. The name was changed by an act of the Legislature, November 7, 1822, to the Vermont Academy of Medicine. During 1820-27 an arrangement was in force with Middlebury College, by which degrees were conferred by the College on such students of the Academy "as were found worthy." This medical school continued to grow and flourish under the able direction of Drs. Gridley and Woodward until 1838, though at times they were hard put to it to find the funds necessary for its conduct. A proof of this condition is the fact that the Proceedings of the Governor and Council during 1820-24 contained several references to petitions for a lottery for the Castleton Medical Academy. Other difficulties, too, had to be overcome at times. Thus the late Dr. Charles S. Caverly, one of the few historians of the medical profession in Vermont, relates the following incident:

Busy and often exciting times were seen in the quiet, picturesque village of Castleton during Medical College days. Not the least exciting, as was apt to be the case in towns where medical schools thrived, had to do with the dissecting room. "The Hubbardton raid," which occurred in 1830, was one of these episodes, in which the sturdy sons and fathers and husbands of Hubbardton, armed with weapons from the farm, marched in a body to the old college to rescue from its dissecting room the body of the wife of one of their number, whose new-made grave was found empty. Dr. J. M. Currier has given us an account of the event in lines after the style of "Hiawatha." Representing the bereft husband searching the precincts of the dissecting room for the remains, the gruesome tale proceeds:

He groped about among the tables,
Squinted here and there among the subjects,
And picked out one from certain marks
That he could call his wife under oath;
And was ready to pack it up and start
For the land of early rose potatoes,
When the Professor, learned and wise,
Told him that the subject was a burly negro,
And wore a number fourteen boot,
And never gathered spruce gum in the forests,
In the wildwoods of Hubbardton.

After threats to burn the town, if the body was not produced, and after further search, the headless corpse was finally discovered under the floor and, the head being produced, by way of compromise, these sturdy rustics marched back triumphantly with the mutilated remains.

In 1838 Dr. Woodward's health failed, the two other members of the faculty, too, withdrew their support, and the school suspended operations. However, in 1840 it was reopened with a new faculty and in the following year its lecture room was remodeled and its facilities were enlarged by the addition of an anatomical museum, formerly the property of Professor James McClintock, and of *materia medica* cabinets. The General Assembly, in October, 1841, again changed the name, to Castleton Medical College, under which it continued to prosper for more than ten years. Of course the College was not in session for as long a period each year as is customary with medical schools today. But during the intervals between terms, instruction was given at the College by the two faculty members residing at Castleton, Dr. McClintock and Dr. Jamieson. In 1852 the College began to lose prestige, as a result of dissensions between its dean, Dr. Joseph Perkins, and other members of the faculty, and at the outbreak of the Civil War it ceased its work. During its existence of some forty years it had graduated 1,542 physicians, who, located in all parts of the country, fully justified its work and even to this day reflect credit on this, the pioneer medical school of Vermont. Amongst the men who taught at Castleton at various times were many who achieved high standing in their profession, including such well known doctors as Dr. William Tulley, inventor of the "Tulley Powder," author of a well-known work on *materia medica* and responsible for many original researches in the application of drugs; Dr. Horace Green, a native of Vermont and later a well-known authority on diseases of the throat and chest; Dr. Solomon Foot; Dr. Frank H. Hamilton, one of the great early surgeons of this country; Drs. Thomas M. Markoe and Alfred C. Post, both successful surgeons; and Dr. James McClintock.

Vermont Medical College—The founder of this institution, known at first as The Clinical School of Medicine, was Dr. Joseph A. Gallup of Woodstock, who had filled the chair of practice and *materia medica* at Castleton for three years until 1823, when he left there and for a short time was associated with the medical school at Burlington. However, he decided that another medical school on the other side of the mountain was needed and set to work to organize one at Woodstock. For quite some years it had no charter and its graduates received their degrees from the Waterville College, of Waterville, Maine. Though Dr. Gallup, who in the beginning seems to have been the only member of the faculty, issued his first prospectus in August, 1826, operation of the college did not



ASCUTNEY MOUNTAIN WITH WINDSOR IN FOREGROUND

really begin until March 5, 1827, when its first course of lectures, which continued for twelve weeks, started.

An attempt to secure a charter at the next session of the Legislature was not successful, and no lecture course was held during 1828-29. However, this time was utilized to erect a new brick building, to form a faculty and to arrange a curriculum, and, March 4, 1830, the first lecture of the new course was given, this course continuing until June 2. At that time the faculty consisted of Drs. Joseph A. Gallup and Willard Parker, the latter later one of the most famous American surgeons, assisted by Dr. David Palmer and by Frederick A. Willard, who gave instruction in chemistry and the natural sciences. The first degrees were granted in 1830, the candidates being examined by the faculty and by two censors each from Waterville College and from the Vermont State Medical Society. By 1832 the College had gained such a reputation that it had eighty students. Unfortunately, about that time, dissensions amongst the members of the faculty arose with the result that two rival factions developed, each attempting to gain control. According to Dana's "History of Woodstock," two separate advertisements were published, each dated January 20, 1834, each headed "Clinical School of Medicine at Woodstock, Vermont," and each announcing the commencement of the annual course for lectures for March 6. This, of course, created considerable confusion and it was remarked, rather facetiously, that Woodstock was the only city in the United States, with the exception of Philadelphia, which could boast of two medical schools.

Dr. Gallup, with characteristic generosity and unselfishness, decided to yield, in order to reëstablish harmony and prevent further damage to the best interests of the college which he had founded. He transferred all his rights and property in the institution to the other faction and retired to private practice, this step on his part increasing the respect and liking which he had enjoyed in great measure even before.

During 1830-32 degrees were conferred by Waterville College and during 1833-37 by the president of Middlebury College. In the meantime, in 1835, the Legislature finally had granted a charter, by which the name of the institution was established as the Vermont Medical College. In 1839 a new building was erected and until 1856 the College enjoyed prosperity and was highly regarded by the medical profession and the public. At the end of 1856 a large number of the professors resigned and the members of the corporation, though they made several attempts to continue the work, found it impossible to carry on. In 1862 the real estate and other property

were sold and the last page of the history of the Vermont Medical College had been written. During its comparatively short existence it had sent forth some five hundred and fourteen physicians, most of whom brought credit to their *alma mater*.

Aside from the medical institution connected with the Vermont Medical College, no other reputable medical colleges have ever existed in Vermont. At different times and in different places attempts were made to establish medical colleges of one kind and another, Rutland, Bennington and Newbury each having been the place of such attempts. They all came to nothing and these more or less irregular institutions usually lasted only for a brief time, the shortness of their existence and the lack of their success being in most cases well merited.

Medical Societies—Until the end of the War of the Revolution no effort was made to bring together the members of the medical profession in Vermont for the purpose of furthering their mutual interests. In October, 1784, however, the physicians of Rutland and Bennington counties secured a charter for a medical society under the name of The First Medical Society. Its objects and the names of its charter members were given as follows:

"Whereas, it is a matter of the greatest importance to the inhabitants of this State that the professors of the medical art should receive all proper encouragement to incite them to improve and to acquire a thorough acquaintance with a science so interesting, to those who may be in distress through indisposition of body and limbs; and whereas, it appears by a petition by Jonas Fay and Lewis Beebe in behalf of themselves and a number of gentlemen physicians and surgeons in the counties of Bennington and Rutland and parts adjacent, to wit: Nathaniel Dickinson, Seth Alden, Samuel Huntington, Elisha Boker, Lemuel Chipman, William Johnson, William Gould, Aaron Hastings, ——— Hitchcock, Silas Holbrook, William Wolcott, Ezra Boker, Ebenezer Tolman, Ezekiel Porter and Jacob Roebeck, did on the 19th day of August, 1784, form themselves into a medical association and formed a constitution for the government thereof; prayed the Legislature of this State to patronize and establish the same."

Other counties before long formed similar societies, Windham, Franklin and Windsor being the next to do so. Later most of the remaining counties also chartered medical societies. The principal reason for the establishment of these societies at first was the regulation of admission of new members to the medical profession.

Eventually these county organizations resulted in the formation of a State Medical Society. The first charter for such a society was granted in October, 1813, and its first meeting was held at Montpelier, July 7, 1814, when Dr. Ezekiel Porter was elected as the first president. This organization came into being during the most serious epidemic ever experienced by the State of Vermont and it entered immediately on a very active career. Though to a great extent it concerned itself chiefly with matters affecting the welfare of the profession, it also gave considerable attention to public health. Just as the county societies had done, it determined the qualifications for membership in the medical profession and granted diplomas to those who met its requirements. As has already been pointed out, the majority of medical students in Vermont found it impossible to attend medical colleges, and therefore, acquired their training under active practitioners of recognized standing and then eventually appeared before the Censors of a chartered society for examination. The licenses thus issued were recognized in other States as well.

With the establishment of the several medical colleges, the history of which has been briefly related in the preceding pages, conditions in this respect changed somewhat and the State Society occasionally sent representatives to their examinations. However, it retained full control over the admission of members to the profession during the first ten years of its existence.

As early as 1825 a special committee of the State Medical Society was appointed to inquire into and to report on the subject of the requirements for admission to practice, and much to its credit it reported as follows: "The Medical Society of this State regrets the scanty requirements of candidates who offer themselves for examination for licenses to practice and also for degrees in the medical institutions in this State; and likewise in adjoining States. We experience an earnest concern on account of the general laxness that prevails. We further consider this abatement of requirements as tending to depreciate the reputation of the profession and to injure the community." It was thereupon decided to increase considerably the requirements of candidates for licenses and to recommend to the medical institutions of Vermont and of neighboring States that the degree of Bachelor instead of Doctor of Medicine be given to students after they had completed the prescribed period of medical study and that the degree of M. D. be conferred only on those who appeared to merit it seven years after they had received the degree of M. B. The secretary of the Society was also directed to ask the medical societies and medical colleges of New York, Connecticut,

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Maine to adopt similar regulations "for the benefit of the community and the reputation of the profession." Though no record exists regarding the outcome of this remarkably progressive request, the fact remains that the Vermont Society did pioneer work in the cause of elevating medical education and ethics.

Until 1829 the Society continued its work actively and successfully, its direction having been in the hands of Dr. Gallup during 1818-29. Then followed a period of some twelve years, during which the leading physicians of Vermont, as far as they concerned themselves with the interests of the profession at large, gave their attention to the development of the several medical colleges founded in the State rather than to the affairs of the State and County societies. As a result the latter, though continuing to exist, practically ceased to function. However, eventually the activities of the State Society were revived and the interest in them on the part of physicians throughout the State was reënlisted, resulting in various reorganizations and in a fairly constant growth in its influence and usefulness.

Vermont State Medical Society in Modern Times—The revival of the State Society dates back to 1841 and under date of October 14, 1841, we find this entry in the official records of the Society: "The Vermont Medical Society, having for a long time been neglected, the physicians from the several parts of the State assembled together in Convention on Thursday, October 14, 1841, for the purpose of considering said Society, and of devising some means of remodeling and reviving and of placing it on a more sure foundation than ever, and proceeded to organize by W. R. Ranney appointed Chairman and Z. B. Burnham, Secretary." At the annual meeting, held the next day, a modification of the by-laws was made, providing that all regular physicians, who had been members of the Legislature, the professors of medical institutions in the State, who had degrees in medicine, and all members of County societies might become members of the State Society. A Board of Counsellors, the total number of whom was not to exceed the number of Senators from any county, was established and this Board was authorized to transact the Society's business. Representing the constituent County societies, it was very similar to the House of Delegates of the present State Society. For the first few years after this reorganization annual meetings were held, which, however, were increased to semi-annual meetings, beginning with 1844. In the following year the presidency was held by Dr. Horace Eaton, who was elected Governor of Vermont in 1846, serving until 1848 and being the only

member of the profession ever to occupy the highest office in the State.

Though within certain limits the Society functioned well under this new plan, a gradual decrease in attendance at its meetings and an interest in its affairs became noticeable and in 1851 another reorganization took place. This resulted in the abandonment of the county unit of representation and from then on any physician in the State of good moral character, holding the degree in medicine from any legally authorized medical school, was eligible to membership upon the payment of one dollar as an initiation fee and one dollar as annual dues. This second reorganization apparently proved effective and for the next fifty years the Society continued to flourish.

In spite of this, however, still another reorganization took place, in 1901, resulting in a change of the by-laws. But this last change was made not because the Society had ceased again to function, but only because at that time the national body, the American Medical Association, suggested certain changes, in order to establish uniformity amongst all of the State Medical societies in the country. Under this new change the entire business of the Society was placed in the hands of a House of Delegates, which represents, according to their membership, the various constituent County societies, and thus there was practically reëstablished the original form of the State Society.

Throughout its existence of more than one hundred years, the Vermont State Medical Society has consistently worked for the elevation of the standards in medical practice and education and for better laws in respect to public health. It has sponsored practically all of the legislation that has had anything to do with these and related matters. In many ways the Society has been remarkably progressive and its leaders have shown unusual vision. As long ago as 1851 the Legislature's attention was called to the desirability of instituting a complete system of birth, marriage and death registration, and five years later, in 1856, the necessary laws were passed, resulting in the establishment of very complete vital statistics, Vermont being one of the first States to take this step, largely as the result of the Society's activities. In 1873 it took the lead in arousing interest among the profession and the general public in the establishment of a central State Board of Health and thirteen years later this work, too, was crowned with success. The most recent and, perhaps, the most important work of the Society along this line was in connection with the medical practice act of 1904 and with

the various acts passed by different Legislatures providing for the constant extension of the activities of the State Board of Health.

Homœopathic and Eclectic State Societies—Though not dating back quite as far as the State Society of the allopathic school of medicine, these two more recent organizations, representing more recent schools of medicine, have to their credit a large amount of useful work and frequently, in connection with the most important legislative enactments affecting the medical profession, have effectively collaborated with the State Medical Society.

The Vermont State Homœopathic Society received its charter in 1858, though even prior to this there had been a central organization for homœopathic physicians, of which Dr. C. B. Darling of Lyndonville was the moving spirit. Other physicians prominent in the earlier days of this organization were Dr. Taplin of Montpelier, Dr. Eels of Cornwall, and Dr. G. E. E. Sparhawk of Burlington.

The Vermont State Eclectic Society was organized, June 6, 1866, and incorporated in November, 1866. Amongst its early officers should be especially mentioned Dr. A. G. Brush, Dr. J. M. Templeton, Dr. W. D. Wells, Dr. J. Furkee, Dr. George A. Bagley, and Dr. F. Grinnell.

Regulation of Medical Practice—The first act regulating medical practice in Vermont was passed by the Legislature in November, 1820, prior to which date, as has already been related, the early medical societies determined the qualifications of a medical practitioner and controlled entrance into the profession. The law of 1820 provided that no one could collect legally fees for medical treatment, unless he was a "member of some legally constituted medical society, within this State, hath obtained the degree of bachelor or doctor of physic, in some academy, college or university, within this State, or elsewhere, having authority to confer such degrees, or be licensed to practice in the manner hereinafter provided." This provision enabled any of the Judges of the Supreme Court, with the assistance of two or more regular physicians, who were members of a legally constituted medical society, to examine and license any person who was an inhabitant of the State of good moral character to practice "physic and surgery." A further provision, that this act was to remain in force only for one year, indicated its experimental nature, but it apparently proved acceptable, because it was continued in force in November, 1821, after having been slightly revised. Until 1838, when this law was repealed, it governed medical practice in Vermont. Then followed a period of



PATH OF THE SINKING SUN
(From Bulletin of Photography. Photo by W. D. Chandler.)

twenty-eight years, during which the practice of medicine in Vermont was without any legal restrictions and open to anyone who cared to engage in it.

Not until 1876 did the Legislature again undertake to regulate medical practice. A law passed in that year authorized legally constituted medical societies to license practitioners of medicine, surgery and midwifery through a board of three censors. This board, however, enjoyed little if any discretion in the matter of issuing licenses, being required to do so without fee to all physicians or surgeons who furnished evidence of having a degree in medicine or proof that they had been examined and declared qualified to practice by some other authorized board. Though there were certain other provisions aiming at regulation and fines were to be imposed on those disregarding this law, there were also attached to it certain exceptions considerably lessening its usefulness. However, it was a slight improvement over the previous, wide open period and, undergoing only minor changes, it remained in force until 1904, when a modern medical practice act was passed.

The 1904 law established a Board of Medical Registration, consisting of seven members appointed by the Governor for a term of six years. All members have to be physicians in active practice and graduates of chartered medical schools, three being members of the allopathic, two of the homœopathic and two of the eclectic school, and all appointments being made from lists of nominees submitted by the several medical societies. The Board conducts examinations of applicants for a license to practice medicine and issues such licenses to those having passed such an examination and having presented a diploma from a medical college recognized by the Board. In its essential features the Vermont medical practice act corresponds to similar acts in force in most of the other States today. The Board also conducts chiropody examinations and issues certificates to practice chiropody.

In this connection there should also be mentioned other legislative enactments regulating the practice of dentistry, passed in 1882; the practice of pharmacy, passed in 1894; the practice of embalming, passed in 1902; the practice of osteopathy, passed in 1904; and the practice of veterinary medicine, passed in 1912. Each of these practice acts provides for a board of registration or examination and a similar board was also established to regulate the practice of chiropractic.

Still another board, closely related to the regulation of medical practice, is the Board of Registration of Nurses. Established in 1910, it consists of three members appointed by the Governor for terms of

six years, two of whom are required to be physicians in active practice on the attending staff of any hospital of the State having a training school for nurses, with the third member a graduate nurse, who shall have had at least three years' practical experience. The duties of this board are to conduct examinations of applicants for registration certificates entitling them to practice as registered nurses.

There is also a Board of Examiners in Optometry, with similar duties in respect to the examination of applicants for certificates entitling them to practice optometry, established in 1908 and likewise consisting of three members, appointed by the Governor for terms of three years, membership on the board being restricted to those having been actually engaged in the practice of optometry for five years.

Protection and Regulation of Public Health—Prior to and during the early days of Vermont's Statehood the protection and regulation of public health concerned itself practically with only one disease, smallpox, then comparatively speaking very prevalent and greatly dreaded. Early records, covering the times when Vermont was still part of New Hampshire, contain several references to official cognizance of this scourge and a special meeting held February 10, 1777, voted to establish a Pest House and to place a committee in charge of it. In 1784 and again in 1787 the Governor and Council of the young State enacted laws, imposing upon the Selectmen in the various towns the duty of attending to cases of smallpox, of providing medical attendance for those suffering from it, and of guarding against danger to the uninfected. Disease quarantine in Vermont dates back to these early laws and they were also responsible for making the Selectmen the local boards of health, a condition that obtained for a century, until the first State Board of Health was created in 1886.

During the one hundred years prior to the establishment of the first State Board of Health, smallpox continued to remain the chief concern of public officials in respect to public health. Besides the laws already mentioned, another rather elaborate act dealing with this disease was passed in February, 1797, still further extending the duties of the Selectmen. At various other times new laws were passed, gradually widening their duties in regard to the protection of public health. Authority was vested in them to control butchering and the care of slaughter houses and they were held responsible for making regulations looking toward the control of "nuisances, sources of filth and causes of sickness."

There were also a number of other laws, not always very strictly enforced, that concerned themselves with the safeguarding of natural bodies of water, with the protection of "provisions, whether for meat or drink," with the guarding against the adulteration of food, drink, drugs and medicines, and with the restriction of the sale of poisons.

Mention has already been made in this chapter of the enactment of the law, in 1856, providing for the registration of births, marriages and deaths. Under this law the birth and death returns were made by the school district clerks, while ministers or others officiating at marriages were held responsible for the return of such records. Not until 1866, however, did the Legislature make provisions for the collection of divorce statistics. Under this law, which remained in force until 1896, the Secretary of State was authorized "with such assistance as may be voluntarily rendered by any authorized committee appointed by the Vermont Medical Society for that purpose," to compile and tabulate the vital statistics of the State and to report them to the Legislature. Dr. Hiram F. Stevens of St. Albans prepared the first record blanks and books used for this purpose, and Dr. Charles L. Allen, at that time practicing in Middlebury, made the first tabulations, together with the necessary interpretative comments. After the establishment, in 1886, of a State Board of Health, the vital statistics of the State continued to be handled in this manner for another ten years, but in 1896 a new registration law was enacted. It provided that births and deaths returns were to be made by physicians, midwives and others in attendance, prohibited the disposal of any dead body except in accordance with a burial permit to be issued only by the health officer, and transferred the compilation of vital statistics from the Secretary of State to the Secretary of the State Board of Health.

Creation of the State Board of Health—The year 1886 is one of great importance in the history of medical practice and public health in Vermont. Then it was that the General Assembly passed a law creating a State Board of Health, to consist of three members appointed by the Governor. Their compensation was fixed at four dollars per day and actual expenses, the total expense to the State, however, not to exceed $1,500 per year, except in the case of some extraordinary public peril, when the Governor was authorized to permit the Board to expend another $1,000 during any one year. The law defined the duties of the Board to include the taking of "cognizance of the life and health among the inhabitants of the State"; the making of investigations respecting diseases and epidemics, causes

of death and the effect of employment on health; the advising with municipal officers with regard to the location, drainage, water supply, heating and ventilating of public buildings and the drainage and sewerage of towns and cities; the promulgating and enforcing of such regulations for the better preservation of the public health in contagious and epidemic diseases as the Board considered necessary. The Secretary of the Board was required to be a reputable practicing physician in this State and was always to be a member of the Board, of which he was made the executive officer with the duty of supervising its work. He was also required to "respond to the invitations of Boards of Selectmen of the several towns, or the Mayor of a city, in case of epidemics of contagious disease or other unusual sickness," to render assistance to the Secretary of State in the compilation of vital statistics, and to make an annual report to the Governor.

Drs. A. H. Chesmore of Huntington, Charles L. Allen of Rutland, and J. H. Hamilton of Richford, by appointment by Governor Ormsbee, formed the first Board of Health. At their initial meeting at Burlington, December 7, 1886, they organized by electing Dr. Allen as president. After further consideration, however, he resigned this office to assume that of Secretary, Dr. Chesmore becoming president. This meeting also decided upon an immediate campaign of education to arouse public interest. Dr. Allen died in 1890, at which time he was succeeded by Dr. Hamilton as secretary, while Dr. Charles S. Caverly of Rutland, frequently mentioned in this chapter before, became the new member. In 1891 Dr. Chesmore died, Dr. Caverly became president, and Dr. Orlando W. Sherwin of Woodstock was appointed to fill the vacancy. In 1896 Dr. Henry D. Holton of Brattleboro was appointed to the Board and Dr. Truman R. Stiles of St. Johnsbury in 1898. Dr. Hamilton resigned as secretary in 1900 and was succeeded by Dr. Holton, who continued until 1912, when he resigned and was succeeded by Dr. C. F. Dalton of Burlington. In the meantime, in 1906, Dr. F. Thomas Kidder of Woodstock had succeeded Dr. Stiles as a member, and in 1918, when Dr. Caverly died after twenty-eight years of most useful and effective service, most of the time as president, Dr. W. T. Slayton was appointed to fill the vacancy.

The personnel of the board at the present time consists of Edward J. Rogers, of Pittsford, chairman; William G. Ricker, of St. Johnsbury, John F. Gifford, Randolph. The executive officer is Dr. Charles F. Dalton of Burlington, who also acts as secretary, and the fifth member of the department of public health is Charles F. Whitney of Burlington, director of the State laboratory of hygiene.



ST. JOHNSBURY HOSPITAL

Growth of the Activities of the State Board of Health—The first addition to the duties of the State Board was made by the Legislature in 1892, when it was authorized to appoint a health officer for each city, town and incorporated village, constituting such health officers, together with their respective town selectmen, city aldermen or village trustees as local boards of health.

In 1898 a law was enacted establishing and equipping a State Bacteriological Laboratory "for the chemical and bacteriological examination of water supplies, milk and all food products, and the examination of cases and suspected cases of diphtheria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, malaria and other infectious and contagious diseases." It was one of the first such laboratories established in the United States by any Legislature and again showed the progressiveness of Vermont in respect to the care of the health of its people. The establishment of this very important addition to the means of guarding public health was largely the result of the untiring work of Dr. J. H. Linsley of Burlington, who became its first director. At his death in 1901 he was succeeded by Dr. M. J. Wiltse, who was followed, in 1904, by Dr. Bingham H. Stone. When Dr. Stone died in 1921, Dr. Charles F. Whitney took his place. The laboratory quickly became a most useful means of guarding the public health and of spreading useful information, especially relating to preventive work. Its equipment and personnel were placed at the disposal of State's attorneys for the purpose of making autopsies and pathological and chemical examinations and the pathologist became in effect the medical examiner of the entire State, being frequently called upon to testify for the State in criminal cases. The same law, which created the Laboratory, also authorized "a school of instruction for health officers of the State at least once a year," which had its first session in 1899, was the first school of its type to be conducted anywhere in the United States under State auspices and at State expense, and successfully continued until 1918. In 1900 the law was amended to authorize the Board to issue a periodical for the purpose of publishing the results of the Laboratory's work and of spreading information regarding the latest methods for the protection of public health. Year by year the work and importance of the Laboratory, officially known as the State Laboratory of Hygiene, has increased and the number of examinations of all kinds made now is very large.

Almost every session of the Legislature widened the powers and activities of the State Board of Health, assuring thereby not only greater protection of the public health, but also paying a well meri-

ted compliment to the usefulness and efficiency of the Board. In 1905 tuberculosis was made a reportable disease, reports to be made directly to the Board. In 1908 the duties of the State Tuberculosis Commission were vested in the Board, which was ordered to undertake a State-wide campaign of education and which since then has constantly done preventive work of the utmost importance to the health of the people, frequently in close coöperation with clubs and other local organizations. In the same year free distribution by the Board of antitoxin for the treatment and prevention of diphtheria was authorized. An act passed in 1910 placed the establishing of tuberculosis hospitals under the supervision of the Board and another act of the same year authorized the Board to make rules and regulations for the prevention of blindness due to the ophthalmia of the new born and to distribute to physicians prophylactic outfits against this disease. The supervision of the sanitary condition of the State's schoolhouses was placed in the hands of the Board, which was also authorized to undertake the medical inspection of public and private schools upon the request of the proper authorities. In 1912 an act was passed requiring physicians and heads of public institutions to report to the Board certain data regarding all public and private patients suffering from venereal diseases of any kind and the Board was authorized to furnish free diagnostic tests and, at cost, material for the specific treatment of such cases. Later this law was amended several times to make it more effective.

In 1919 Vermont once more took the lead amongst all the States in regard to the protection and regulation of public health. A new law was enacted, abolishing all local or town health officers and dividing the State into ten sanitary districts, each district to have a full-time health officer. Many other States since then have copied this law with its important feature of district health officers, devoting their entire time to public health work, one of the most progressive measures ever instituted in the entire history of public health regulation in the United States.

The Passing of the Country Doctor—Nothing indicates more clearly the changes of the present century in regard to the absence of the doctor in the small towns of Vermont than the table which closes this chapter and which was prepared in 1928 by the Vermont State Medical Society. There are now several more towns without a physician and as indicated by the table a little figuring will show that there is only one doctor to every 629 people in Vermont. But one-half of all the doctors are located in the twelve cities and larger towns where there are nurses and ample hospital accommodations.

Some of the smaller towns now have articles in their warning for the town meeting offering a bonus to any doctor that will locate there. The town of Pownal with a population of about fourteen hundred people has a standing offer of $500 for any doctor that will move into town. The town of Strafford has offered one thousand dollars. It is a serious condition and one which the Vermont State Medical Society is giving careful attention. One Vermont paper urges financial aid to the Vermont College of Medicine with the proviso guaranteeing a certain number of rural doctors each year to some of one hundred or more communities where there is no resident physician. The College of Medicine has been trying an interesting experiment by sending out senior medical students to serve a sort of apprenticeship under experienced doctors in various parts of the State, the idea being to acquaint the young doctor with actual rural conditions under a successful country doctor. The solution of the problem is still a vexed one and the conditions in many isolated Vermont communities cannot be easily remedied.

SUMMARY OF DOCTORS IN VERMONT

County.	No. of Towns.	No. of Drs.	No. of Towns With No Drs.	Pop. of Towns With No Drs.	No. of Towns With 1 Dr.	Pop. of Towns With 1 Dr.	1 Dr. to
Addison,	23	21	14	6,764	4	3,164	888
Bennington,	16	31	9	2,142	1	674	696
Caledonia,	17	46	8	3,951	2	1,782	469
Chittenden,	17	97	5	3,336	7	7,857	450
Essex,	13	9	9	2,442	1	382	818
Franklin,	15	45	2	2,239	3	3,932	665
Grand Isle,	5	5	1	494	3	1,799	756
Lamoille,	10	15	3	1,450	2	1,401	790
Orange,	17	23	7	4,186	5	4,841	751
Orleans,	19	34	7	4,504	6	5,628	703
Rutland,	28	68	13	7,300	3	1,659	676
Washington,	20	63	8	5,895	4	2,578	617
Windham,	23	45	14	6,309	6	4,094	586
Windsor,	24	58	7	3,683	7	5,277	637
Totals,	247	560	101	54,895	54	45,068	

CHAPTER XX

FORESTRY IN VERMONT

In very early times the forest was preserved for the game it contained. Forestry then meant the art of hunting, and had very little to do with the care of trees. Even the word forest, which really comes from the Latin foris, *meaning out of doors, was thought in England to be derived from the fact that it was a place given up to wild animals* for rest. *But gradually the forest came to be considered more than the game, and the serious study of forestry began.*

—GIFFORD PINCHOT.

"When the Europeans first took possession of Northamerica, it was one continued forest, the greatest upon earth. The country was everywhere covered with woods, not planted by the hand of man; but derived from, and ancient as the powers of nature. . . . Much the largest part of Vermont is yet in the state in which nature placed it. Uncultivated by the hand of man, it presents to our view a vast tract of woods, abounding with trees, plants and flowers, almost infinite in number, and of the most various species and kinds." Thus wrote Dr. Samuel Williams in the first State history published in 1794. Continuing, Dr. Williams names over forty varieties of trees, mentioning that pines grow to a diameter of six feet and a height of two hundred and forty-seven feet, while the height of the maple, elm, birch and some others ranges from one hundred to two hundred feet. In the first half century of settlement there was a tremendous waste of valuable timber which covered ninety-eight per cent of the area of the State. Some of the big pines from the great Champlain forests were cut and rafted down the lake to New York City and in the upper Connecticut Valley the tall pines were shipped as masts for the clippers that sailed the Seven Seas.

Extent of Area—Though the virgin forests were ruthlessly destroyed by our forebears, our mountain sides stripped bare and burned down to bed rock, Nature has wisely preserved for us a later growth that under scientific management, in which the Federal and State governments and many citizens are united, will make our woods productive and save us from a serious timber shortage. Yet with all this wastefulness of one of the State's greatest resources one is surprised to learn the extent of Vermont's forests today. From the Massachusetts to the Canadian boundary there

is a stretch of mountains nearly without a break, and covered with forest to quite its whole extent. One can journey northerly from the Massachusetts border a hundred miles and not come in contact with a cleared space. In the two southern counties alone one can traverse at least a hundred thousand acres and not cross an open field, the only break being the necessary opening for four highways, with these, even, to a large extent, so overarched as to afford uninterrupted shade. It is in this section that a National forest will be established as will appear later in this chapter. A few statistics may be more illuminating. Of the total acreage of 5,839,360 acres, most of which was originally forest covered, the forest area has been reduced less than one-half and is now estimated at 2,750,000 acres. Federal experts estimate that about sixty per cent of our total acreage, or upwards of four million acres, is better adapted for growing trees than any other crop. At the present time Vermont has over a million acres of idle or waste land capable of producing profitable crops of timber. Tenth as a lumber producing State in 1840, Vermont had dropped to fifteenth in 1870 and today is in the thirtieth place.

The Beginnings of Scientific Forestry—It is exceedingly interesting to note that probably the first scientific forestry in Vermont began in the town of Westmore on the shores of Willoughby lake under the leadership of its pastor, Rev. C. O. Gill, now located at Hartland. In the summer or fall of 1899 Mr. Gill took up the matter with his Yale College classmate, Gifford Pinchot, then head of the United States Forestry Service and more recently Governor of Pennsylvania. Mr. Pinchot sent a Government forester to make a working plan for the management of the ministerial lot. This was a timber tract of about three hundred acres left by the original grant of the town in 1780 to "the first settled minister and ministers." In January, 1900, another timber lot of four hundred acres, overlapping the ministerial lot, was purchased and deeded to the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society (now merged with the Vermont Congregational Conference) to be managed by its directors in accordance with the forestry principles of the Federal Forestry Service. Five hundred dollars was the purchase price, of which four hundred dollars was contributed by Mr. Pinchot. The latter took a personal interest in the scientific management of this property and once visited his college classmate at Westmore and personally inspected the lots. It was expected that the income from these timber lands would be given to the support of the church. At the time of the purchase it was the general belief that nearly all of the merchantable

timber had been cut off both the lots, but as Mr. Pinchot anticipated these tracts have yielded a good revenue every year. The church was organized in this town in 1893 and almost continuously since that date the people have had the services of a resident minister. The two lots comprising seven hundred acres have been an indispensable factor in the improved condition of the community and should continuously yield a good revenue.

Pioneers in Forestry—It is really in the present century that one finds a group of far-sighted Vermonters who realized that something must be done to prevent our forests from certain extinction. Their private activities preceded by only a few years the splendid work the State has been doing through its forestry department in the past two decades. One of the most active of this group was Colonel Joseph Battell of Middlebury. He left to Middlebury College forest lands of approximately thirty thousand acres located chiefly along the Green Mountain range in the towns of Fayston, Warren, Granville, Ripton and Hancock. It was to keep the market open for shipments of timber from some of these towns that Middlebury College gave so liberally to the reconstruction of the White River Railroad. The college has a trained forestry personnel which administers these lands along the lines of scientific forestry, thus insuring the perpetuation of valuable forest growth. As this splendid gift to a Vermont college removed the lands from taxation Colonel Battell wisely provided in his will that a fund should be set aside by which the towns receive annually the sums previously obtained from taxation.

Another Vermont forest conservator was Marshall J. Hapgood of Peru, whose estate still owns large tracts of timberland on Peru Mountain and vicinity. He clearly saw the necessity of State control and ownership and, writing in the "Vermonter," for November, 1907, said, "The State should absolutely control these forest stretches. There should be no risk run that some day they will be devastated for pulp or charcoal purposes. They should be absolutely reserved as public property, for combined watershed, game, scenic and lumber uses. Thus, and thus only, can the true combination be formed; only under State or Government ownership can we have true guardianship." Among others who were working along the same lines as Messrs. Battell and Hapgood were George Aitken, manager of the Billings estate at Woodstock; Mortimer R. Proctor of Proctor; Professor Jones of the University of Vermont and William J. Van Patten of Burlington; Ernest Hitchcock of Pittsford, for six years a member of the State Board of Agriculture. The great paper

companies such as the Fall Mountain Paper Company at Bellows Falls, and their successor, the International Paper Company, also caught the vision of providing for the future conservation of the forests and adopted methods that clearly showed that great corporations were as vitally interested in the movement as individuals. Better methods of operation were adopted and besides purchasing large tracts of timberland a nursery for seedlings was started at Randolph where in one year, 1909, they had growing in their seed beds 500,000 Norway spruce and 60,000 white pine. This was not done for any philanthropic purpose, but to provide a future supply for the mills' growing demand for wood pulp.

The Vermont Forestry Association—It was the compelling conviction that Nature's economic laws must be heeded which led the Green Mountain Club to appoint a committee on forestry, headed by Mortimer R. Proctor, of the town of Proctor, and then vote to authorize them to take such steps as seemed advisable to promote forestry in Vermont. Mr. Proctor's interest in this matter was so great that he generously offered to guarantee the salary of an executive secretary for at least one year, hoping that during that period the foundations might be laid for a self-supporting organization. Again Governor Pinchot started a forestry movement that did not apply to one town but spread over the State. Following a stimulating address that the Federal Forest chief gave at Burlington on January 5, 1904, the Vermont Forestry Association of Vermont was formed with the following officers: President, William J. Van Patten; Vice-Presidents, E. C. Smith and George Aitken; Secretary and Treasurer, Ernest Hitchcock; Executive Committee, C. H. Green, Joseph A. DeBoer and Joseph Battell. For twelve years this organization functioned and did much constructive work. Interest waned during the World War and it was dissolved at Burlington January 11, 1922. On March 21, 1925, a meeting was held at Rutland and the Vermont Forestry Association was organized. Its officers were, President, K. R. B. Flint; Vice-President, Mortimer R. Proctor; Secretary, Reginald T. Titus; Treasurer, Raymond H. White. There was an executive committee of nine members, vice-presidents in each of the fourteen counties, and committees on legislation, forest policy and finance. Secretary Titus came to the organization as a graduate of the New York State College of Forestry at Syracuse and just prior to his coming to Vermont he was granted the Master's degree in Forestry. Mr. Titus visited all parts of the State at public gatherings, giving illustrated addresses on the work the organization was doing in Vermont, and much valuable litera-



THE WHITE BIRCH ROAD IN WATERFORD
(Photo by E. A. Silsby)

ture was issued from the office at Northfield. About a year ago the society disbanded and their work has since been carried on by the State forestry department.

Beginnings of State Forestry—It is scarcely twenty years ago that Vermont started in the forestry work that has been functioning ever since under the skilled supervision of trained foresters. In April, 1909, Austin F. Hawes was appointed as the first State Forester, serving under the Board of Agriculture and Forestry with headquarters at Burlington. By ancestry he was somewhat a Vermonter because his father was a former principal of Goddard Seminary and his mother came from Derby Line. By training he was splendidly equipped to establish this bureau. He was a graduate of Tufts College and the Yale School of Forestry. For three years he had been attached to the Government Forest service and had charge of the forest planting exhibit at the St. Louis exposition. Before coming to Vermont he was State Commissioner of Forestry in Connecticut and while there was granted a leave of absence that he might study the forestry systems of France and Germany. He laid the foundations broad and deep for his successors. He started out with three policies: the prevention of forest fires; the offering of a short but intensive course in tree planting; the creation and administration of State forests. Calling attention to the fact that people have given liberally to colleges, he expressed the hope that gifts of land would in the future become a popular form of public benefactions. His prediction has proven true and the State has been enriched in recent years by gifts of large tracts of timberland from loyal and philanthropic Vermonters. The Legislature of 1917 abolished the Forestry department and imposed the duties of the State Forester upon the Commissioner of Agriculture. This resulted in the resignation of Mr. Hawes and the entire personnel of the department. In August, 1917, W. G. Hastings was appointed Chief Forester, reporting to the State Forester who was also the Commissioner of Agriculture. The work was well administered by Mr. Hastings until the Legislature of 1923 enacted new laws creating a forestry service headed by a Commissioner of Forestry. This officer had all the rights, power and duties formerly vested by law in the State Forester (Commissioner of Agriculture). Mr. Hastings resigned in the fall of the same year. After the office had been vacant nearly six months Robert M. Ross was appointed February 4, 1924, and still heads this department. He was graduated from the Biltmore Forest School in 1910 and was assistant to the Vermont State Forester from 1912 to 1917. By training

and experience he is the right man in the right place. The forest service has direction over all forest interests and all matters pertaining to forestry, including nursery and nursery inspection; forest fire preventions; administration of State forests and the promotion of forestry interests by bulletins and lectures.

Forest Tree Planting—Starting the process of reforestation in 1910 by planting 69,000 trees (of which only 2,000 were State grown), the State has planted 2,511,275 trees, and private interests, beginning with a planting of 35,000 in 1907, have planted up to the middle of 1928 the enormous number of 14,440,765. In 1928 there were 1,744,712 trees planted, three-fourths of them being white, red and Scotch pine. This excellent work will be carried on through the spring and summer of 1929, Rutland County, for example planting 150,000 trees. Of these, 50,000 Norway spruces, the largest single planting on any one area, were bought by the city of Rutland for is municipal watershed at Mendon. Several parties planted European larch and black locust, to be used for fence posts, as they resist decay.

State Nurseries—Ten years ago the State owned about ten acres in a nursery that contained 770,000 trees. Today the Forestry department maintains at Essex Junction a thirty-acre nursery which is growing over fifteen million trees. A small nursery is located at the Charles Downer State forest in Sharon. As provided by law the Forest Service sells nursery stock at cost and does a constantly increasing business. When Commissioner Hawes began the work commercial nurseries were selling white pine transplants at from fifteen dollars to fifty dollars per thousand. The same stock was supplied by the State nursery at five dollars, or one-third the lowest price offered by private concerns. The first season Mr. Hawes sold 375,000 trees, declining orders for 50,000 that came too late for transplanting. The price for transplants in 1928 ranged from six dollars to seven dollars per thousand. Since 1918 the Forest service has spent $98,252.36 in the operation of nurseries and received from the sale of nursery stock $67,500.76. Though it would appear that there has been a deficit of $30,751.60 in the operations, it is more than offset by the value of transplants on hand which inventoried at the end of the last fiscal year at $31,625. Besides the State nurseries there are thirty-five privately owned ones that have a diversified product. Some of them grow only small fruits, others are restricted to apple trees, while many grow flowering plants and shrubbery. The E. F. Hosford nursery at Charlotte is the oldest

and largest. It was established in 1893 and covers fifty acres. G. D. Aiken at Putney has a thirty-acre nursery and J. E. Mitchell at Barre owns one of twenty acres. The average value of them all exceeds $4,000 and some of them do an annual business ranging from $30,000 to $50,000.

Forest Fire Prevention—Coöperating with the United States Forestry Service and the Vermont Timberland Owners' Association the Vermont Forestry department maintains fifteen fire lookout stations and one of the important lines of work is to ever watch for fires and then extinguish them as speedily as possible. The Legislature has granted special powers to the Governor to safeguard the forests from fire. In the fall of 1924, the worst on record, as there was but a trace of precipitation in forty days, Governor Redfield Proctor postponed the hunting season, thus greatly lessening the fire hazard. Again in the dry spring of 1927 Governor John E. Weeks issued a proclamation prohibiting the setting of fires in the open, a ban which was effective for nine days. The last figures available are for 1927 which show the total loss from fires of $28,373. This is twice the average of the twenty-year period and was only exceeded in 1908 when forest fires caused a loss of $41,964. Of the ninety-three fires in 1927 forty-one started from brush burning and twenty-seven from careless smokers. In assuming his duties as State Forester Mr. Hawes said on this branch of the work, "It must always be remembered that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. For this reason the laws about setting fires should be rigidly enforced, and by patrolling dangerous areas in times of special drought more good can be done than with an army of five hundred men against a fire well under headway."

Blister Rust—Another serious menace to the preservation and growth of our forests is the white pine blister. This, like the poor, is always with us. It was first discovered in North America in 1906, having been imported from Europe along with the English sparrows, starlings and other pests. It is a parasitic plant which divides its life between the bark of the white pine and the leaves of the currant or gooseberry bush. Consequently, as it does not go from pine to pine, it is controlled by destroying its smaller habitats. All wild and cultivated species of the currant and gooseberry are destroyed within a radius of nine hundred feet from the pine stands, the work being done by men coöperating with the United States Bureau of Plant Industry and the Vermont Extension Service. Starting in 1920 with twenty coöperators, one thousand areas of

pine forest was cleared at a cost of $3.22 per acre. In the last five years over five thousand acres have been cleared annually at an average cost of $1.60 per acre, with the number of coöperators ranging from one hundred and twenty to two hundred and seventy-four in 1924. Three towns in the past two years in Windsor County, Springfield, Thetford and Weathersfield paid for the crew foreman while he was working on pine lands in their respective towns. The pine owner pays all costs in connection with the removal of currant and gooseberry bushes except in the cases where municipalities make an appropriation.

State Forests—Commissioner Hawes declared when he started his work in Vermont that the State should eventually own one hundred thousand acres of timberland in holdings of not less than five thousand acres each. In the twenty years that have followed Vermont has much farther to go to meet the goal set by the first Forester. Today there are eighteen State forests with a total acreage of 33,725 acres. Three of them are designated as State Forest Parks given by their donors for both recreational and development purposes. The State pays land and stumpage taxes to the various towns where all the forests are located, the town also receiving ten per cent of the stumpage receipts when the timber is cut. These lands have been acquired either by gift or purchase and on these preserves have been planted 2,250,000 trees. The following table gives the names, donors and acreage of these forests:

Name	Donor	Acreage
Mansfield		5,000
Camel's Hump	Joseph Battell	4,500
Mt. Philo	Mrs. F. W. Humphrey	160
Groton		15,000
Lyndon		75
Charles Downer	Charles Downer	800
Calvin Coolidge		554
Proctor-Piper	Redfield Proctor	400
Townshend		700
Arlington		225
Hapgood	Marshall J. Hapgood	100
George Aitken		800
West Rutland		350
Putnam		1,400
L. R. Jones		600
Ainsworth	Mary E. Waterman	432
Granville	Redfield Proctor	900
Willoughby		620



VACATION SCENE IN VERMONT

An unusual condition existed at Lyndon where reforestation was carried on rather unsuccessfully at first because the trees were planted on sand land that drifted like snow in a winter's storm. Finally seaweed was imported from the ocean and placed near the young trees. Both thrived in the sandy soil with the result that the tract is now covered with over one thousand trees, some of them twenty-five feet high.

Municipal Forests—Thirty-eight communities now maintain municipal forests, Governor Franklin S. Billings starting the movement when he wrote a letter to the first selectman of Woodstock urging upon the several towns a consideration of the advisability of establishing such forests. Sixteen towns appointed committees to investigate the matter and in 1927 six towns started municipal forests. Of the thirty-eight municipal forests, five were acquired in the past two years. The municipalities possessing the largest forests are the cities of Rutland, Montpelier, and Barre, and the villages of Essex Junction, Northfield and Bellows Falls. The largest plantings have been made in Rutland, Essex Junction and Montpelier, these three municipalities having planted more than one-half the total number of trees planted on municipal forest lands. Every one of these communities established its municipal forest as a protection to its water supply. The following table gives information concerning these municipal projects:

Municipality	Donor	Acreage	Trees Planted
Barre City		390	70,200
Bellows Falls		400	47,150
Bethel	J. B. and Thos. Abbott	2	
Brattleboro		120	23,000
Cabot		40	5,000
Calais		50	10,000
Chelsea		24	20,000
Chester		160	37,500
Danville			10,000
Enosburg Falls		20	4,000
Essex Junction		700	371,000
Glover		122	2,000
Grafton		100	
Granville		79	5,000
Hardwick		50	20,000
Highgate	Judge Steele	2½	3,000
Lyndon		10	7,500
Middlebury	Joseph Battell	170	5,000

Municipality	Donor	Acreage	Trees Planted
Montpelier		806	205,650
Newbury		4	5,000
Newport		10	18,000
Northfield		500	35,000
North Troy			
Proctor	Mortimer R. Proctor	112	30,500
Roxbury		10	1,000
Rutland		3,000	446,000
St. Albans		58	7,000
St. Johnsbury		120	79,800
Sheffield		140	25,000
Springfield		20	25,000
Stowe	W. B. McCutcheon	100	43,000
Strafford		165	30,000
Swanton		12	15,000
Thetford		75	9,000
Townshend		75	30,000
Waterbury		140	20,000
Wilmington	Quintus Allen	287	38,500
Woodstock	F. S. Billings	22	8,000
	Total Trees Planted		1,711,800

The Sheffield "Bee"—Accepting an offer of the Vermont Forestry Association to plant five thousand trees for any town establishing a forest of one hundred acres or more and planting twenty thousand trees, the first year, the town of Sheffield with a population of less than six hundred souls, went over the top with a record of twenty-five thousand trees. This remarkable feat was accomplished in the spring of 1926 when the selectmen called a "Bee" and one hundred and twenty-five men and boys responded to the call for service. Before three o'clock of the first day the work was all done and everybody had helped make the town better because of its investment in a municipal forest. The next year the selectmen increased this tract at a cost of four hundred dollars. The two tracts were located in communities where four hundred and twenty-five dollars was paid for transportation of school children and the maintenance of five miles of mountain roads. The four hundred and twenty-five dollars thus saved, plus the annual income from the sale of hay of twenty dollars, is over fifty per cent on their original investment and they have a permanent asset in one hundred and forty acres of growing timber.

Some 1929 Plantings—Schools and colleges this spring have ordered from the State nursery including 9,000 from Middlebury

college, 500 from St. Jerome's Parish of Dorset, 2,000 from the Barton Academy Alumni Association, 350 from the Castleton Normal School, 1100 from Burr & Burton seminary and 2,000 from the Dartmouth Outing Club, for planting in Norwich. Lasell Seminary of Auburndale, Massachusetts, is continuing its reforestation on land in Stockbridge, ordering 100,000 seedlings.

The city of Rutland has ordered 50,000 seedlings and Montpelier 30,000. The following villages have placed orders this year: Chester 5,000, Essex 50,000, Hardwick 10,000, Enosburg 2,000, in addition to orders of 3,000 from the Bennington water commissioners, 5,000 from the Woodstock Aqueduct Company and 4,000 from the town of Calais.

State Commission of Conservation and Development—In 1927 Governor John E. Weeks appointed a commission consisting of the State Forester, Robert M. Ross, the State Fish and Game Commissioner, the late Linus Leavens, Wallace H. Gilpin of Barton, Horton D. Walker of Brattleboro, and Mrs. Mehitable C. Robinson. This commission gave careful attention to the conservation and development of our natural resources; visited both State-owned and privately owned forest reserves, as well as the various fish hatcheries and sources of our water supply. Some very construction legislation was passed in the 1929 session which had among its members two of the commission, Mr. Gilpin, one of the Orleans County Senators, and Mrs. Robinson, Representative from West Rutland. Each was chairman of the committee on conservation and development in the respective bodies of the Legislature. One of the most important bills of the session, relating to the construction of dams, was sponsored by the commission and provided that no dams impounding more than one hundred thousand cubic feet of water could be constructed without the authorization of the selectmen in the town or the Public Service Commission. The latter body was given power to employ a competent engineer to investigate the proposed dam and its specifications and report from time to time during its construction. The Public Service Commission was also given authority in this bill to order any repairs on a dam, or cause its removal if considered advisable. The sponsors of this bill believe that danger from flood control will be lessened by giving the Public Service Commission jurisdiction over the construction and maintenance of these large, artificially created bodies of water. Other bills along forestry conservation lines were also passed at the 1929 session of the Legislature.

Federal Forest Reserve—The commission made a trip to Washington the past year to use their influence with the National Forest Reservation Commission in securing a Federal forest for Vermont. Their trip was a successful one, but the credit for initiating the movement belongs to Senator Frank L. Greene, senior Senator from Vermont. This loyal and enthusiastic citizen and public servant began working for a Federal forest reserve in his native State when he was a member of the House of Representatives and kept everlastingly at it until in December, 1928, the National Forest Reservation Commission voted unanimously to establish a forest preserve of approximately one hundred thousand acres in Southern Vermont. The Legislature of 1925 had passed an enabling act that permitted the Federal Government to acquire forest lands, and the recommendation of the State Commission of Conservation and Development had the hearty endorsement of the Vermont members of the New England Council, the New England section of the Society of American Foresters, the Vermont Botanical and Bird Clubs, the Vermont State Chamber of Commerce, the Brattleboro Club, and the Chambers of Commerce of New Haven, Connecticut, and Greenfield, Massachusetts.

The property thus secured is a portion of a larger tract of three hundred and seventy thousand acres, referred to in the Government report as the Green Mountain purchase area. It is divided by counties as follows: Rutland, 41,000; Bennington, 21,800; Windham, 111,000 and Windsor, 2,000. The area lies in three drainage systems, the Connecticut River, the Hudson River and Lake Champlain. Towns or portions of towns within the area are as follows: Rutland County—Wallingford, Mount Holly and Mount Tabor; Bennington County—Peru, Dorset, Winhall, Manchester, Sunderland, Glastenbury, Arlington, Shaftsbury, Woodford, Pownal, Stamford, Searsburg and Readsboro; Windham County—Landgrove, Londonderry, Stratton, Somerset, Wilmington, Whitingham, Dover, Wardsboro and Jamaica; Windsor County—Weston. The ownership of about 150,000 acres in the area is invested in ten concerns.

It is expected that this larger area will be purchased by the Federal Government at a later date. The Vermont Commission also inspected with Federal officials a northern unit of three hundred and forty-five thousand acres situated in twelve towns in Essex County. This is only sixty miles from the headquarters of the White Mountain National Forest and if eventually acquired by the Federal Government would be a part of that great reserve. The authorized investigation of the southern unit occupied several



THE BURKE MOUNTAIN CLUB

months and was under the direction of E. C. Beaumont. Commenting on the conditions of the proposed purchase Mr. Beaumont, in an interview in the summer of 1928, said:

It is the largest and only compact body of mountainous and non-agricultural land in this part of Vermont; it is good soil for the production of timber; the ownership is vested in about 10 concerns holding in the aggregate about 150,000 acres with an assessed valuation of $6 per acre; it is close to wood-using plants and is easily accessible to good markets; it is in the midst of large hydro-electric power development; it is close to large centers of population; the prospects for a future forest are very promising; the area may be acquired at an average price of $10 an acre.

A Forest Policy for Vermont—In an illuminating address before the Vermont Society of Engineers on March 10, 1926, State Forester Ross outlined a forest policy for Vermont with which we bring this chapter to a close, having shown how from small beginnings in the early part of the twentieth century forest conservation has developed until it has become one of the important forward movements of the "New Vermont." In his address Mr. Ross said that three ways were open for future development—compulsion by legislative action to force the individual or corporation into the practice of forestry; encouragement, by low taxation, coöperative protection from ravages by fire or insects, reforestation and advice; by State or Federal ownership.

I have now given you two ways in which the forestry situation may be handled, namely by compulsion, or encouragement. Now I come to the last way which I believe is the most important. It is the State ownership of large tracts of forest land. This is no new policy as the State of Vermont has been acquiring lands spasmodically since 1910. However, we have progressed very slowly and it is time a definite forest purchase program was adopted.

In the first place, why do we need State forests, and what effect will they have on the welfare of Vermont?

This question I would answer as follows:

1. Private forestry is stimulated more by example than by any other method. The State should set a good example.

2. There is probably a million acres of idle forest land in Vermont. Much of this land could be purchased for less than five dollars an acre. If set to work by reforestation or proper forestry practice, the timber on such lands would be worth at least three hundred dollars per acre forty to fifty years hence. State forests thus cared for would increase the assets of the State and insure a future timber supply at home.

3. State forests not only would produce timber and wood but utilize to best advantage land not fitted for farming. The time required to raise a crop of trees to timber size discourages many individuals, but in the life of the State this period is comparatively short.

4. Large State forests would have a most important effect upon stream flow by tending to retard the rapid run-off of water.

5. In future years well managed State forests will furnish work to hundreds of people, and the timber from these areas would support permanent wood using industries.

6. The value of State forests in preserving the beauty of the State's scenery should not be overlooked as this asset of Vermont should increase rather than diminish. Such forests would provide public hunting grounds and, when necessary, sections could be set apart for game refuges. As public recreational areas they would in future years be of immense value.



CHAPTER XXI

THE VERMONT COURTS

The lawyers from the courts espell,
Cancel our debts and all is well.
But should they finally neglect
To take measures we direct,
Still fond of their power and wisdom
We'll find effectual means to twist 'em.
—VERMONT GAZETTE, JANUARY 31, 1784.

The administration of law and the practices and principles under which Vermont courts function, are, of course, derived from the British system and customs of jurisprudence. When Vermont gained its independence and formed and adopted a constitution, the latter provided for a very simple judiciary system, which, generally speaking, has stood the test of time very well and which has undergone only comparatively few changes, since it was first formulated more than one hundred and fifty years ago.

Section 4, Chapter II, of the Constitution of 1777, provided as follows: "Courts of Justice shall be maintained in every County in this State, and also in new counties when formed." Other sections, 28-33, lay down in greater detail other important features of the Judiciary Department. Of course, as the years passed and conditions changed, it was found necessary at times, either by constitutional amendments or by legislative enactment to provide for new needs arising from this change. In the following pages it has been attempted to give a brief account of the gradual development of Vermont jurisprudence, with such sidelights on the State's Bench and Bar as appear most interesting from a historical point of view.

Jurisprudence in Colonial Times—Though the earliest white settlement in what is now the State of Vermont dates back to the early part of the eighteenth century, the progress of settlement was very slow up to 1760, when Canada was conquered by the British from the French. At that time there were only six white settlements in the six towns bordering on the Connecticut River north of the Massachusetts line, and it is estimated that the total number of the settlers was not more than three hundred. With the end of the French War, settlers began to pour in and settle-

ments soon sprung up as far north as the valley of the Winooski west of the Green Mountains and Essex County in the easterly part of the State. Then and up to the Revolutionary War the present State of Vermont was included in the limits of the Province of New York, with the Connecticut River forming the eastern boundary. More specifically this territory was within the county of Albany. The courts were all in the city of Albany and it was there that those who desired legal redress had to come. This then, of course, was a long and difficult journey. From a legal point of view the difficulties of the situation were even greater, because, as was stated in petitions made about that time for the formation of a new county, "there can be no passing from the Connecticut River to Albany without going through the province of the Massachusetts Bay; and as soon as the officer gets across the line of the province, his office leaves him, and the delinquent makes his escape." Though many justices of the peace were appointed, their precepts could not be served for these reasons. Eventually it was found necessary, in order to overcome these difficulties, to organize two new counties, Cumberland in 1766 and Gloucester in 1770, and inferior courts were instituted in each. The famous land title suits resulting from the controversy between New Hampshire and New York about jurisdiction over what is now Vermont, in which suits Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys played such important parts, occurred during this period and, coming within the jurisdiction of the higher courts, of course, were tried at Albany.

Cumberland County, established by ordinance of the Governor and Council of New York Province, dated July 3, 1766, was the first county organized within the limits of Vermont and embraced approximately the present counties of Windham and Windsor. At first Chester was made the county seat and remained as such until 1772, when Westminster took its place. A court of common pleas and general sessions was authorized to be held semi-annually. The first judges of the court of common pleas were Thomas Chandler of Chester, Joseph Lord of Putney and Samuel Wells of Brattleboro. Their original commissions were dated, July 16, 1766, were renewed in April, 1768, and again in 1772. At that time Noah Sabin was added to their number, Judge Lord having become partially incapacitated on account of his advanced age. John Chandler, Crean Brush and Samuel Gale were successively clerk prior to 1776, while Solomon Phelps, Micah Townshend, Charles Phelps and Samuel Knight were commissioned as attorneys-at-law. In July, 1774,

Hon. Robert R. Livingston, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Province of New York, came to Westminster, to hold there a court of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery. The administration of justice by these courts did not meet with the approval of the people and in March, 1775, serious riots occurred at Westminster and after that date no further sessions of these courts were held.

Gloucester County, made up of the territory west of and contiguous to the Connecticut River and north of Cumberland County, was established, March 16, 1770, and the next day John Taplin of Newbury, Samuel Sleeper of Bradford and Thomas Sumner of Newbury were appointed judges of a court of common pleas. In 1772 Jacob Bayley of Newbury took the place of Samuel Sleeper, and in 1774 John Peters of Bradford was appointed a judge. A number of assistant judges and justices of the peace were also appointed, and Kingsland was made county seat. Though this town, now the site of Washington, had not a single inhabitant and was eight miles from any settlement, a log jail was erected there. The location of the county seat greatly hampered the conduct of the courts' affairs and eventually, in 1772, it was ordered that two sessions each year were to be held at Newbury. John Peters was clerk until June, 1774, when he was succeeded by John Lawrence.

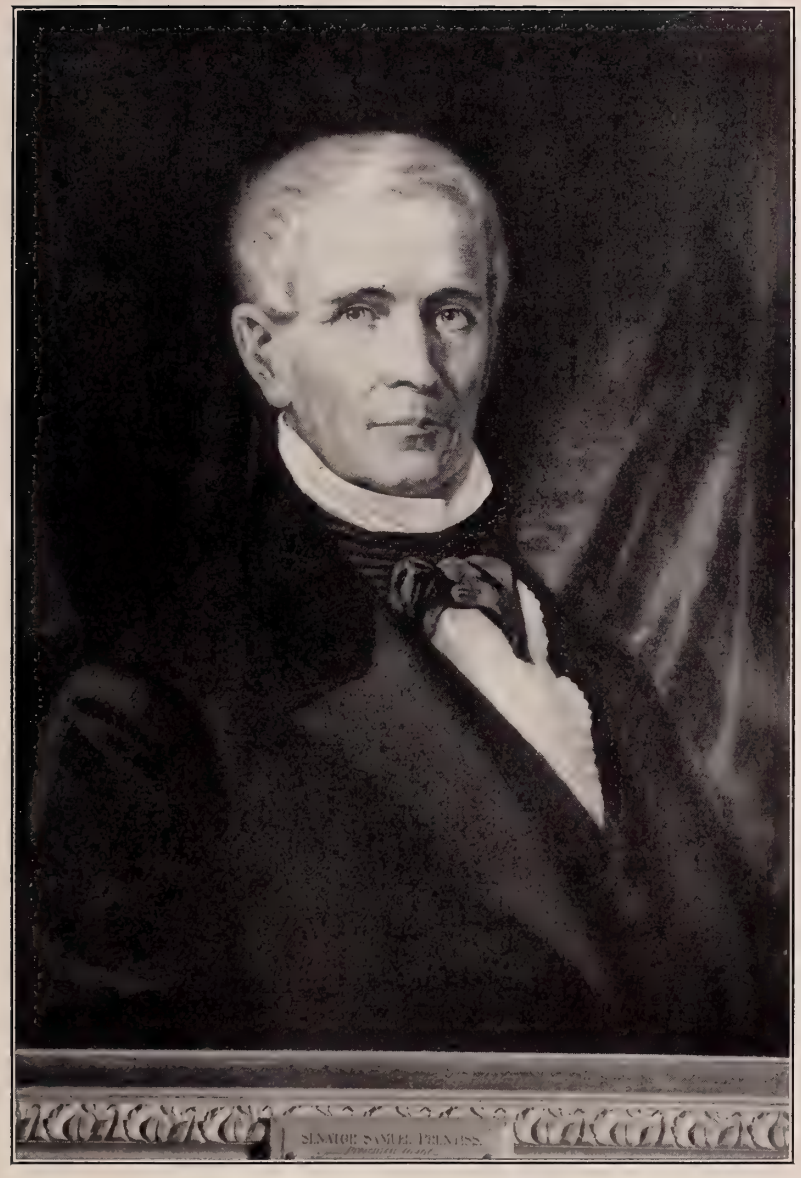
Still another county was formed in 1772 from the northern part of Albany County along both sides of Lake Champlain, including western Vermont north of the Battenkill at Manchester, and was named Charlotte County. In 1773 it was ordered that a semi-annual court of common pleas and a court of general sessions of the peace be held at the house of Patrick Smith near Fort Edward and at the same time Philip Schuyler was appointed judge and Mr. Smith clerk. Neither the judge nor the place in which the court was held belonging to Vermont, the people disregarded the processes of the Charlotte County court and if necessary resisted them even by force, an attitude which they also took in respect to the decrees of the Albany County court.

Jurisprudence under the State Constitution—Although the Constitution of 1777 provided for a Supreme Court and for a Court of Common Pleas, several years passed before such courts were established. However, in June, 1778, the Legislature appointed five judges to hold special courts in the counties of Westminster, Newbury, Bennington and Rutland. At the October session of the Legislature held at Windsor it was decided to appoint a Superior

Court consisting of five judges, and Moses Robinson was appointed Chief Judge, with John Shepardson, John Fassett, Thomas Chandler and John Throop as associate judges. Provision was also made for the time and place of the various terms of this court and it was ordered that it should not sit longer at one sitting than a week. The court met and was organized in accordance with the acts of the Legislature, December 10, 1778, at the Meeting House in Bennington and its first meeting really represents the beginning of organized jurisprudence in the State of Vermont. The first session of the court was held at Bennington in the residence of Stephen Fay, with Judges Robinson, Fassett and Chandler present. Joseph Fay was chosen clerk and one cause was tried, that of a Loyalist, accused of "enemical conduct against the United States." The next session was held, May 26, 1779, at Westminster, with the full court in attendance. Stephen R. Bradley was appointed clerk and he and Noah Smith were admitted to practice as attorneys within the State, acquiring thereby the distinction of having been the first to be admitted to the practice of law in the State of Vermont.

Another and very necessary step toward the more complete organization of the State's jurisprudence was taken at the February, 1779, session of the Legislature, when the jurisdiction of the Superior Court was defined, so as to cover all criminal matters and all civil cases above twenty pounds. At the same time it was specifically ordered that it should have no power to try any action or title to land during the ensuing year. It was also given power to approve of, to nominate and to appoint attorneys and an oath was prescribed for them, which is still used today, substantially the same as worded at that time. Rules governing civil actions were also fixed at that session and provisions were made for the attachment of property under certain restrictions, these provisions being the origin of attachments on mesne process. "No County Courts having been established in this State," the Superior Court was given the jurisdiction which these would have had.

Still further progress was made in the fixation of the State's jurisprudence at the October, 1779, session, when the election of the Superior Court Judges was ordered to be made in October of each year by the joint ballot of the Governor, Council and House of Representatives. At the same time the Superior Court was constituted a court of equity in matters above twenty pounds and up to four thousand pounds, cases above the latter sum to be heard and decided by the Governor, Council and House of Representatives. Other judicial rules, processes and regulations were also laid down



SAMUEL PRENTISS, 1782-1857, OF VERMONT,
Chief Justice Vermont Supreme Court, United States Senator.

by this and, for some time to come, by succeeding Legislatures, of which only the most important can be mentioned here. The prohibition of trial of title to land was constantly extended until 1785.

The session of the Legislature held in February, 1781, at last concerned itself with the formation of the County Courts. It made provision for the election of the judges, each County Court to consist of five, and of Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, these elections to be made by the freemen of each county. At the next session, in April, 1781, the jurisdiction of the County Courts was defined and extended to all crimes not capital, all civil actions not exceeding six pounds, and to all appeals from the decisions of Justices of the Peace. The first County Court organized under these laws was for the County of Windham, at Westminster, June 26, 1781, with John Sessions as Chief Judge and Luke Knowlton, John Bridgman and Benjamin Burt as Side Judges. Stephen R. Bradley was sworn as State's Attorney, and he, together with Samuel Knight, Ezra Stiles, Jr., and Micah Townshend, were admitted to the bar.

Institution of the Supreme Court—In June, 1782, the Legislature passed a judiciary act regulating the status of the Justices of the Peace and of the County Courts. More important even was an act, constituting a Supreme Court of Judicature, to be held annually as prescribed and to consist of one Chief Judge and four other Judges, who were to be elected by ballot by the Governor, Council and General Assembly annually each October, and the jurisdiction of this court was defined. In October following, Moses Robinson, Paul Spooner, Jonas Fay, John Fassett and Peter Olcott were elected Judges of the Supreme Court, the first to receive this honor. The first session of the court was held at Marlboro, Windham County, February 6, 1783, at which time the business then pending before the Superior Court was disposed of, thus marking the end of that court.

The constitutions of 1786 and 1793 provided for the election of the judges of the Supreme Court, as well as of those of the County Courts, by the House of Representatives in conjunction with the Council.

From time to time different Legislatures passed acts affecting the number of judges to constitute the Supreme Court and others, sometimes extending and sometimes curtailing its powers. Generally speaking these changes, though, of course, of importance to the people and to the development of judicial procedure, were more of an administrative nature and frequently were quickly changed again, and in some instances were not even put into effect. These

changes, the total of which has been rather large, may be followed in detail by consulting the records of the several Legislatures and by referring to books concerning themselves more specifically with the history of jurisprudence. Here it must suffice to summarize them.

The number of Supreme Court Judges, as has already been noted, underwent various changes. Until 1786 inclusive there were five, during 1786-1825 three, in 1825, 1826 and 1827 four, during 1827-46 five, in 1846, 1847, 1848 and 1849 six, during 1850-57 three, during 1857-70 six, during 1870-1906 seven, in 1906 and 1907 four, and since 1908 five.

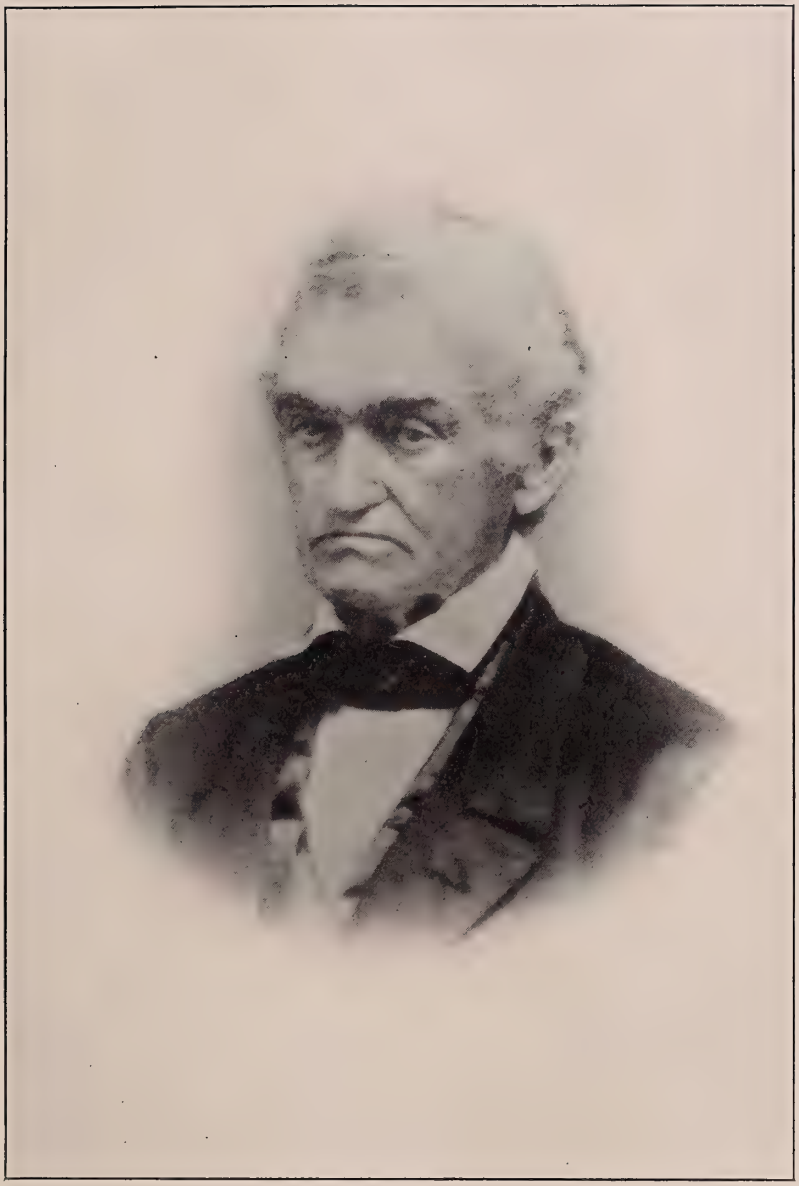
The greatest reductions in the number of Supreme Court Judges occurred in 1850 and in 1906. The change in 1850 was caused by the institution of an additional Circuit Court consisting of four judges. This innovation, however, did not prove popular or satisfactory and was abolished in 1857. The reduction of 1906 was the result of the institution in that year of a Superior Court of six judges, which has continued to this day.

In 1892 the Legislature passed an act entitled, "An Act to Expedite Legal Proceedings." It provided for three general terms of the Supreme Court for all the Counties to be held always at Montpelier and for special terms in the discretion of the Judges. Though this system had many advantages, it was maintained that it was very burdensome to poor litigants and to a certain extent also to attorneys in parts of the State at a considerable distance from the capital.

These views prevailed, when the present system of courts was established by No. 63, Acts of 1906, which provided for five general terms at Montpelier and special sessions, held once a year, at St. Johnsbury, Rutland and Brattleboro, an arrangement which has proved very satisfactory to all interests and which has obtained without change since then.

Until 1912 the Supreme Court consisted officially, in accordance with the wording of the Constitution, of one Chief Judge and Assistant Judges. Popularly, however, they were called more frequently "Justices." At the time the Constitution was amended in 1912, it was provided that, wherever the words "Judge" or "Judges" were used to designate a Judge of the Supreme Court, the words "Justice" or "Justices" should be substituted, and since then the Chief Judge has been officially known, as in other States, as Chief Justice and the Assistant Judges as Associate Justices.

More detailed mention should be made here of the comparatively



ROBERT PIERPOINT, 1791-1865, OF VERMONT,
Member of the Governor's Council, Lieutenant-Governor, and Circuit Judge.

short-lived institution of Circuit Courts, provided by an act of the Legislature passed in 1849, put into effect in 1850 and discontinued in 1857. It reduced the Supreme Court to one Chief Judge and two Assistant Judges, but provided for the election of four Circuit Judges. The State was divided into four circuits, the counties of Bennington, Rutland and Addison forming the first; Windham, Windsor and Orange, the second; Chittenden, Franklin, Lamoille and Grand Isle, the third; and Washington, Caledonia, Orleans and Essex the fourth. In each circuit there was to be held, in addition to the sessions then regularly held in each county, a term of the Supreme Court.

The Superior Court—As has already been briefly mentioned a Superior Court of six Judges was created in 1906. They, like the Justices of the Supreme Court, are now elected biennially by the Legislature for a term of two years, the one first elected being designated Chief Judge. Each Superior Court Judge is a Chancellor *ex officio*. The six Judges assign one of their number to hold the Court of Chancery and they preside in the County Courts, which latter duty they fill according to a carefully worked out plan of rotating assignments, equalizing, as far as possible, the work and preventing any one Judge from sitting again in any county before he has first held court in all the other counties. These assignments permit a certain amount of permanency, though they are made up freshly every two years. A newly elected Judge or one appointed to fill out an unexpired term, automatically takes the place previously held in the assignment by his predecessor. The 1906 act gave to the Supreme Court Justices the power to sit also in the Superior Court and similarly to the Superior Court Judges the right to sit in the Supreme Court. As a result Supreme Court Justices occasionally have presided over County Courts and Superior Court Judges have often been called upon to sit on the Supreme Court Bench.

Minor Courts—In Vermont the minor courts include sixteen municipal and city courts, the courts of the Justices of the Peace in the several towns and twenty probate courts, one in each of twenty probate districts.

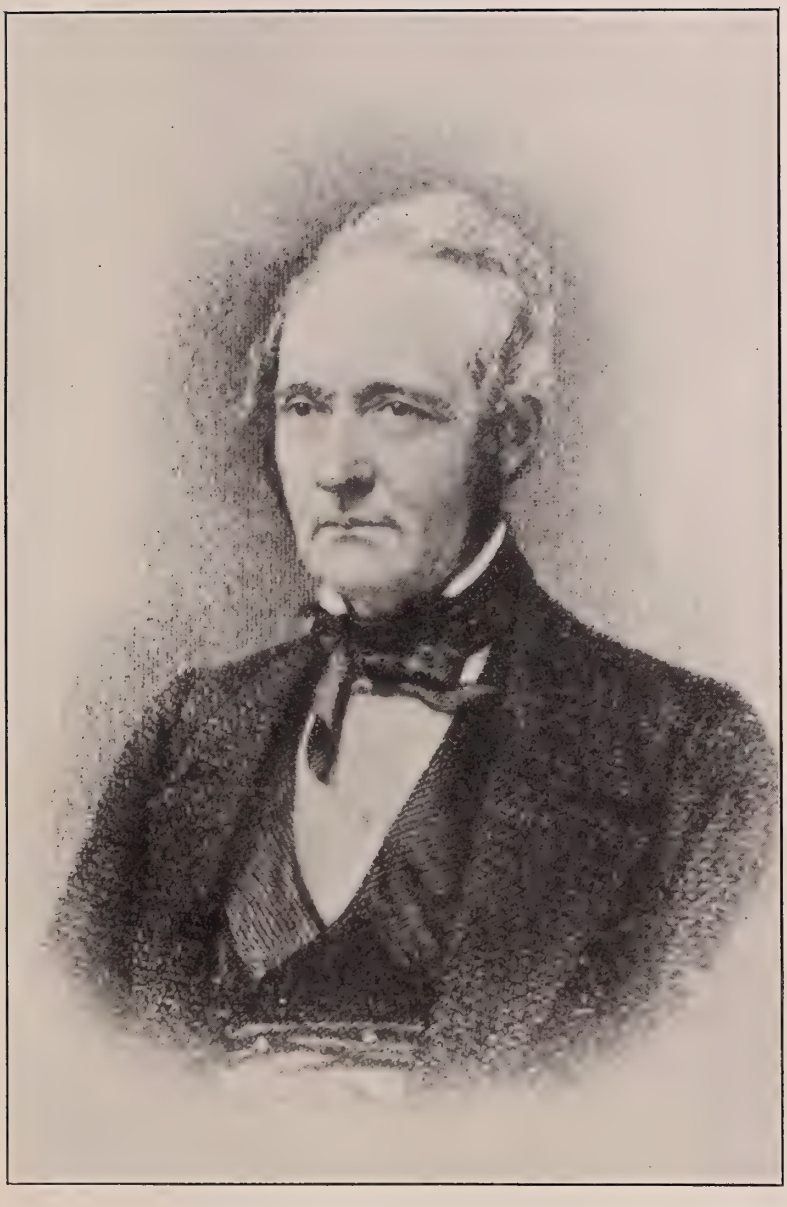
The beginnings of Municipal Courts date back to 1788, when Vergennes was incorporated as a city, the first occurrence of this type in the State. Its Mayor at that time was made Judge of the municipality, though it is not known that any mayor of this city ever exercised judicial powers. Burlington was the next city to establish a Municipal Court, but not until 1865, the official title of

this Judge being Recorder. Later similar courts were established in Bennington, Rutland, Barre, Montpelier, St. Albans, Brattleboro, Winooski, Bellows Falls, Springfield and Brighton, as well as in the counties of Orleans, Caledonia and Addison. At first only local, these courts have had their jurisdiction expanded to include in some cases whole counties, resulting in a transfer to these courts, more competent than the Justice Courts and less expensive and more continuous in their sittings than the County Courts, of much of the business previously handled by the Justice and County Courts. The Municipal Judges are lawyers and are appointed by the Governor for terms of two years. Exceptions on questions of law may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Justice Courts, as has been related in the preceding pages, date back to the earliest times of law enforcement in Vermont. They have always had jurisdiction over small civil and criminal cases and power to bind over to the County Courts those charged with offenses beyond the jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace. Appeals may be taken to the County Court or Municipal Court. Today these courts have largely been superseded by the Municipal Courts and with their gradual passing a very interesting and frequently picturesque side of legal procedure, locally considered of great importance and interest, is disappearing.

Probate Courts, for the settlement of estates of deceased persons and the probate of wills, date back to the second year of the State government. Today there are twenty such courts, one for each probate district, the eight northern counties comprising one probate district each and the six southern counties being each divided into two districts. Their Judges are elected by the freemen of the respective districts and appoint their own Registers. Appeal may be taken to the County Court and from there, on questions of law arising in the trial of probate appeals, to the Supreme Court.

Attorney-General—This office, the incumbent of which is elected by the people for a term of two years, was not created until 1904. The first to be elected to this office was Clarke C. Fitts, who served until 1908. Later Attorney-Generals were: John G. Sargent, who was United States Attorney-General during 1925-29 in the administration of President Coolidge, 1908-12; Rufus E. Brown, 1912-15; Herbert G. Barber, 1915-19; Frank C. Archibald, 1919-25; and J. Ward Carver since 1925. The Attorney-General has general supervision of criminal prosecutions, appears for the State in all prosecutions for homicide and in all civil matters in which the State is a party when the public good requires it, advises State officers



JACOB COLLAMER, 1791-1865, OF VERMONT,
Judge of the Vermont Supreme Court, Congressman, Postmaster-General of the United States, United States Senator.

on legal questions, advises and assists the State's Attorneys in their criminal or State duties, and is in attendance upon the General Assembly.

Case Reports—The old Superior Court cases were not reported officially and this also obtains in respect to Supreme Court cases until 1823, when an act was passed providing for the appointment of a Reporter. Prior to that Nathaniel Chipman reported a few cases of 1789, 1790 and 1791, Tyler cases during 1800-03 and Brayton cases during 1815-20. The first Reporter to be appointed was Daniel Chipman and his first volume consists chiefly of reports of cases during 1814-21. His second volume consists of 1824 cases. Aiken's "Reports" cover cases during 1825-27. The first nine volumes of "Vermont Reports," 1826-37, contain cases of these years reported by the Judges themselves. Since 1837 there has been published regularly a series of "Vermont Reports," compiled by an official Reporter.

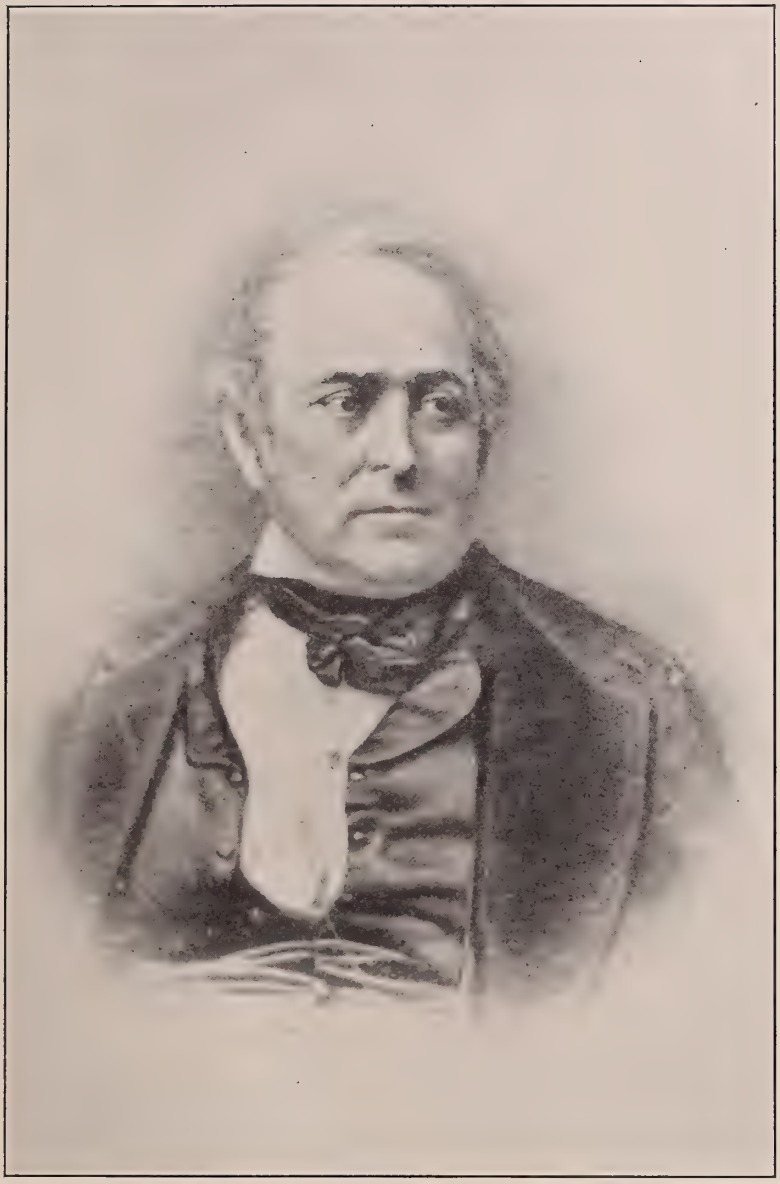
Federal Courts—The beginnings of Federal Courts in Vermont date back to the admission of the State into the Union in 1791, since which there have been only eight Judges of the Federal Court for the District of Vermont, as follows: Nathaniel Chipman, 1791-93; Samuel Hitchcock, 1793-1801; Elijah Paine, 1801-42; Samuel Prentiss, 1842-56; David A. Smalley, 1856-77; Hoyt H. Wheeler, 1877-1906; James L. Martin, 1906-15; and Harland B. Howe, since 1915. Judges Chipman, Paine, Prentiss and Wheeler had had judicial experience as Judges of the Supreme Court of Vermont prior to their elevation to the Federal Bench, while the others received their elevation directly from the ranks of the legal profession. According to the Statutes of the United States Vermont constitutes one Judicial District. Terms of the District Court are to be held at Burlington on the fourth Tuesday in February, at Windsor on the third Tuesday in May, at Rutland on the first Tuesday in October, and at Brattleboro on the third Tuesday in December. In each year one of the stated terms may, when adjourned, be adjourned to meet at Montpelier and one at Newport. Special terms are left to the discretion of the District Judge, both as to time and place. The Statutes also provide for a United States District Attorney, Marshal and District Clerk, the first incumbents of these several Federal offices having been respectively: Stephen Jacob, 1791-97; Lewis R. Morris, 1791-1801; and Frederick Hill, 1791-1800.

County Courts—The history and gradual development of the County Courts has already been related in its essential points in the preceding pages, without, however, giving any of the details in

respect to the separate counties. Some of these details being of considerable historical interest in relation to the history of the whole State and all of them being of great local interest, a short summary of them is attempted in the following pages.

In the earliest times of Statehood County Courts, for the lack of official county buildings, were often held in private dwellings, inns or other buildings that offered sufficient space for court purposes. On the other hand, after county buildings came into existence, they were frequently used for other purposes than the holding of County Courts and the housing of County officials. Town meetings, religious worship and public meetings were often held in county buildings and in not a few cases the latter also contained the Town Hall of the shire town. This condition was chiefly brought about by the fact that county buildings in many cases were erected from town funds and even by private subscriptions rather than from county funds, though usually the county at least shared in the cost of the county buildings. In many cases, too, the land, on which the county buildings were erected, was donated, in some instances by the shire towns, in others by prominent citizens. Sometimes this condition even led to disputes between the County and Town, if not in respect to ownership, at least in respect to the right of occupancy on the part of the Town, the most prominent case of this kind, perhaps, being that of the County of Bennington vs. Manchester, et al., 87 Vt., 555, in which the Supreme Court decided in favor of the County, denying to the Town any legal right of occupancy. Though the matter of ownership and use of County Court Houses was thus not always as formal as it is today, the conduct of the Courts' sittings, perhaps, was more formal in earlier times than now. The Sheriff, with drawn sword, escorted the Judges across the Common to the Bench and respectfully and impressively stood with his sword, while the Judges seated themselves and while the Court was formally opened. The Judges themselves were dressed in very dignified manner, wearing ruffled shirts with large collars and long cloaks of broadcloth faced with velvet. The lawyers, too, at least within the Court Rooms, were more formal in their behavior, both their manners of conduct and their appearance adding to the dignity of the proceedings.

Modern Organization of the County Courts—Since 1906 each County Court consists of one Presiding Judge, a Superior Court Judge, and two Assistant Judges of the County Court. The Superior Court Judges are elected biennially by the Legislature, at the same time as the Supreme Court Justices, for a two-year term. The



SAMUEL S. PHELPS, 1793-1855, OF VERMONT,
Member Governor's Council, Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court.

Assistant Judges of the County Court are elected biennially by the people of the several counties, which condition also obtains in respect to the Judges of Probate, the State's Attorneys, the Sheriffs and the High Bailiffs. The Assistant Judges of the County Court, with the concurrence of the Presiding Judge, appoint the County Clerks, who hold office during the pleasure of the Judges and until a successor is appointed. The Judges of the County Court also appoint, biennially, on the first day of February, the County Treasurers.

County Courts are held now according to the following schedule: First Tuesdays of June and December, for Addison County at Middlebury; for Bennington County at Manchester in June and at Bennington in December; for Caledonia County at St. Johnsbury; for Lamoille County at Hyde Park; and for Windsor County at Woodstock. Second Tuesday in March and September, for Chittenden County at Burlington; for Orleans County at Newport; for Rutland County at Rutland; and for Washington County at Montpelier. Second Tuesday in April and September, for Franklin County at St. Albans and for Windham County at Newfane. Fourth Tuesday in April and October, for Essex County at Guildhall and for Grand Isle County at North Hero. First Tuesday in June and November for Orange County at Chelsea.

County Court Sessions, County Court Houses, County Jails—The beginnings of the County Courts in the several counties, of course, coincide, more or less, with the dates of their incorporation, though sometimes the actual organization of a county did not occur until some time after its incorporation. A clear view of the gradual development of the County Courts, therefore, may be gained by the following list of the dates of incorporation of the several counties, arranged chronologically: 1779, Bennington; 1781, Orange, Rutland, Windham and Windsor; 1787, Addison and Chittenden; 1792, Caledonia, Essex, Franklin and Orleans; 1802, Grand Isle; 1810, Washington; and 1835, Lamoille. For the purpose of relating local details as to the dates of County Court sessions, of the places where they were held, and of the erection of County Court Houses and County Jails, the fourteen counties of the State are grouped in the following brief account of these matters into five groups: Bennington, by itself, as the oldest of the counties; the 1781 group of four counties; the 1787 group of two counties; the 1792 group of four counties; and a fifth group of the three counties formed after 1800.

Bennington County Courts—When Vermont was organized as a State, in March, 1778, all that part of it west of the Green Mountains was formed into one county, Bennington County. However, the Legislature, by an act passed February 13, 1781, erected the Northern part into a new and separate county, Rutland County. Since then Bennington County has always had its present boundaries and also has always had two shire towns, Bennington and Manchester, being today and for many years in the past the only one of the fourteen counties of the State, of which that is true. The same act also provided that the court terms be held alternately in the two shire towns and this condition has obtained ever since. The court houses and jails in both Manchester and Bennington date back to that time, though, of course, the original buildings have long since disappeared. The first court house and jail in Bennington were erected on top of the hill in Old Bennington. In 1846 they were replaced by brick buildings, which were destroyed by fire, March 26, 1869, and later in the same year the people elected, by popular vote, to erect a new court house and jail in Bennington rather than on the old site. This building is still in use today, though it has been remodeled and improved several times.

In Manchester the first court house was also used for religious and town meetings. The present court house was erected in 1822 on land owned by the town of Manchester. It, too, is still in use today, additions and improvements having been made several times, as in 1849 and 1890. Beginning with 1842, town meetings were held there regularly, as well as village meetings, and the Town Clerk had his office in one room. This condition eventually led to a dispute between the county of Bennington on one side and the town and village of Manchester on the other, as to the right of occupancy on the part of the latter, a dispute which was finally, as already mentioned, decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the County.

County Courts in Orange, Rutland, Windham and Windsor—County Courts in these four counties, all of which were incorporated in 1781, date back to that year. The first term of the Orange County Court was held at Thetford in Captain William Heaton's Tavern, in June, 1781, and this place continued to house the courts until December, 1785, when, a court house having been built at Newbury, they were transferred to that town until 1796. Since that year Chelsea has been the shire town and the seat of the County Courts. In 1896 the one hundredth anniversary of this event was celebrated by formal exercises. At first the court sessions were held in a room

also used as the town hall, on Main Street, but in 1810 a court house was erected at the east end of the South Common. In 1847 this building, then in very bad repair and no longer adequate for its purposes, was taken down and the present court house was built on almost the same site.

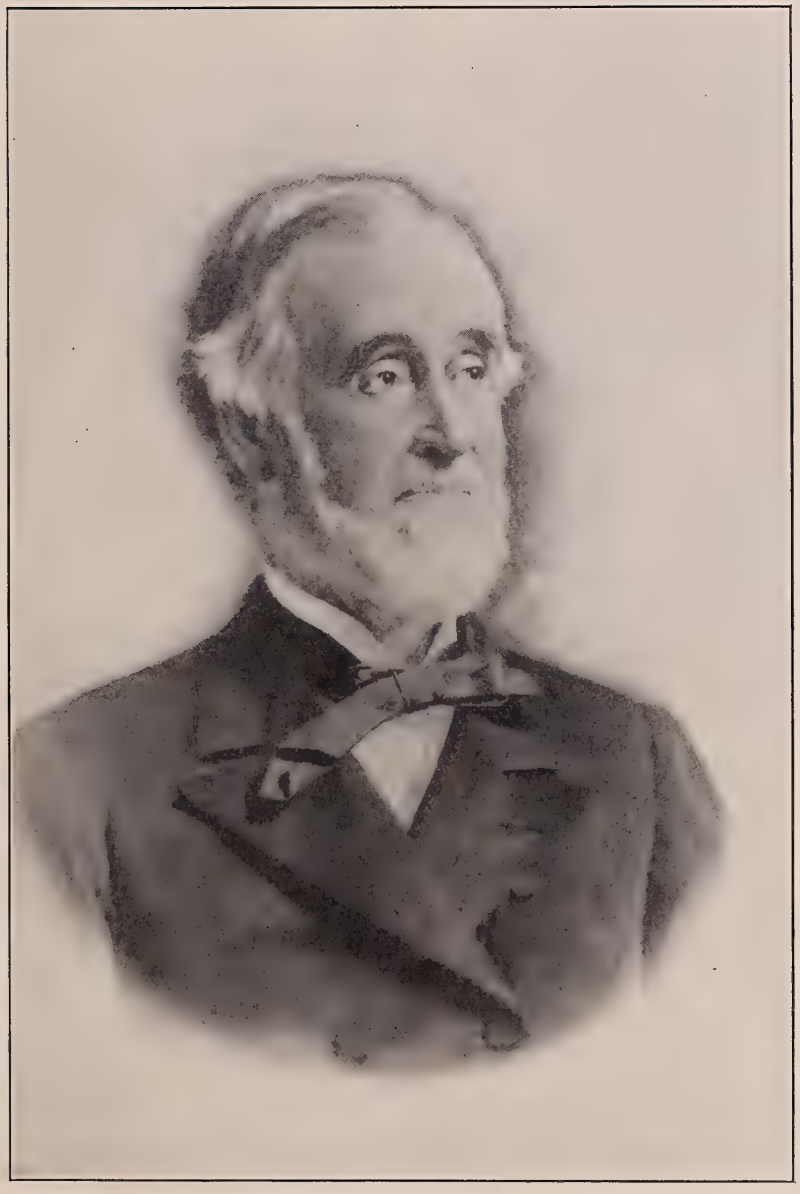
In Rutland County, too, the first County Courts were held in a Tavern, an inn built of logs at Tinmouth Flats and owned by Solomon Bingham. Nearby stood the first county jail, also a log house. In 1784 Rutland became the shire town and since then the County Courts have been held there. Until 1792 an old building with a gambrel roof, which until well into this century was one of the landmarks on West Street, housed the courts. This building also had other claims to fame in the legal history of the State, for it was the scene of the first session of any United States District Court held in Vermont, an event which took place in May, 1791, Judge Nathaniel Chipman presiding. Twice it also housed the State Legislature, in 1784 and in 1786. A new court house was built in 1792, the funds being raised by subscription. It stood on Main Street and was remodeled in 1828 and again in 1844, continuing to serve its purpose until its destruction by fire, April 3, 1868. Not until March, 1871, was a new county court house available, the courts holding their sessions until then successively in the office of Judge Prout, the rooms of the Christian Association, the old town hall and the Federal Court room. The new court house, three years in building, is still in use, improvements having been made to it, however, from time to time, notably so in 1885. The first county jail at Rutland was a log building standing close to the first court house on West Street. During 1878-1919 the State House of Correction was also used as county jail, the county having contributed one third of its cost or $20,000. In 1919 the House of Correction ceased to function and in that year a new county jail was erected somewhat to the west of the court house. Though in 1921 the old House of Correction became the State Prison and House of Correction for Women, the County has no longer any part in its use.

Windham County at first had two shire towns, Westminster and Marlboro, in which the county courts were held alternately until 1790. In that year Newfane became the shire town and has continued as such, serving also as the seat of the County Courts. Until 1825 the court house and jail, as well as, indeed, all the buildings of which the village then consisted, stood on the summit of Newfane Hill, affording a beautiful view of mountains, valleys and towns. Then the county buildings, soon followed by all the other buildings,

were moved to the village in the valley, then called Fayetteville, but now known as Newfane, and the present county court house still contains most of the original timbering and boarding. Though it has been remodeled, added to and improved several times, notably so in 1853 and about 1920, these changes have always been made with the utmost of good taste and care and its general character has been well preserved, so that today it is not only one of the oldest court houses still in use, but also one of the most attractive.

The first session of the Windsor County Court was held at Windsor in May, 1781. With the exception of a special session, held in July, 1781, at Lebanon, now no longer belonging to Vermont, the county court continued to sit at Windsor until 1786, since when Woodstock has been the shire town and the meeting place for the County Courts. The first court house there stood on the present site of the Woodstock Inn, on ground given by Captain Israel Richardson, on which a jail also was erected. The court house, in which the Court sat first in May, 1788, was burned in 1791, but the jail was saved and used until 1797. Captain Richardson again donated some land, on which a new court house was built. Besides being also used for many other community purposes, it enjoyed the distinction of being the first court house in Vermont to have a bell hung in a belfry on the center of the edifice. Reconstructed and enlarged by the addition of a town hall in the basement in 1836, it continued to serve its various uses until July 4, 1854, when it fell prey to a fire resulting from a fire cracker thrown on its roof by a patriotic, but careless boy. Later that year a new court house, still in use, was built on land bought with funds, which were raised by subscription. The old jail, in 1797, was displaced by a new one, on land donated by Charles Marsh and still used for the same purpose. A stone jail was built in 1816, though the wooden jail, erected in 1797, stood until 1867, when it, too, was burned and a new brick building took its place. Modern improvements date back only a few years.

County Courts in Addison and Chittenden—Addison County in its present form dates back, allowing for some slight changes made later, to 1787. But its name came into being two years earlier, when a county, containing also the present Chittenden County, was incorporated by act of the Legislature under that name. In the larger Addison County there were two shire towns, Addison and Colchester, the latter now in Chittenden County, and the County Courts were ordered to be held alternately in them, the first Tues-



TIMOTHY REDFIELD, 1812-1888, OF VERMONT,
Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court.

day in March at Addison and the second Tuesday in November at Colchester. Accordingly, the first session was held at Addison on the first Tuesday in March, 1786, at the residence at Zadock Everest, one of the leading pioneer settlers of the town. The second term sat at Colchester, in November, 1786, this being the only time that Colchester enjoyed that honor, because prior to its next turn in November, 1787, Colchester had become part of Chittenden County, incorporated in October, 1787. In the smaller Addison County, left after Chittenden had been formed from it, the County Courts continued to be held at the town of Addison until 1792, since when Middlebury has been the shire town and the meeting place for the Courts. These early courts at Addison sat in the residence of Jonah Case at Chimney Point. At Middlebury the courts, for several years, were held at inns, first at John Deming's on the site of the present Congregational church, and later at Samuel Mattock's on the site of the present Middlebury Inn. In 1794 Gamaliel Painter, one of the leading citizens, donated land for a court house, having previously already given land for the Common. Other citizens subscribed the funds needed for the erection of the court house and jail, which was commenced in 1796 and finished in 1798 on the hill near the present Middlebury Inn. The jail, nearby, somewhat antedated the court house, which latter, like the first court house at Rutland, had the distinction of housing two sessions of the Legislature, in 1800 and again in 1806. It also served for a town hall and was used until 1809 by the Congregational church and for many more years for all kinds of public meetings. In 1814 it was moved to the site, on which the present court house stands, the land being a gift from Judge Painter. Though remodeled in 1829, it became eventually insufficient for its purposes and in 1883 it was removed to the Fair Grounds, where it still serves as one of the exhibition halls. A new court house, still in use today, was erected in 1883 on the east side and near the north end of Court Street. The old jail, dating back to about 1794, was superseded by a new one, built of stone, in 1809 and by still a more recent one, built of brick, in 1846, the latter being still in use, though improved and modernized.

Chittenden County's shire town at first was Colchester, where the County Courts met for the first time after the organization of the county, in February, 1788. Five other terms were held there, until the Legislature, in 1790, made Burlington the shire town, as which it has continued since then. There the first court house was built in the summer of 1796 in the center of Court House Square.

Six years later, in 1802, a new court house was erected on the site later occupied by the Fletcher Free Library, which latter used the third court house, erected in 1828 after the second had been burned down. The third court house continued in use for court purposes until 1873, when the present building, begun in 1871, was completed. The present jail on Main Street, built in 1887-88, is the fourth jail at Burlington, its predecessors having been built respectively about 1791 near the northeast corner of the Court House Square, in 1807 on Church Street, and in 1851, after the burning of the latter, on the same site.

County Courts in Caledonia, Essex, Franklin and Orleans—Caledonia County, as first organized in 1792, also contained what is now Orleans and Essex counties and four towns later transferred to Washington County. In 1796 Danville became the shire town, which it remained for sixty years, being superseded by St. Johnsbury in 1856. The first Danville court house was of wood, faced the Common and was erected during 1797-1801. About 1850 it was moved back somewhat and was raised, a town hall being built under it. It continued to be in use for its original purpose until the removal of the Courts to St. Johnsbury in 1856, but stood until the great fire, May 9, 1889, when it was burned, together with a brick building, which had been built for the County Clerk in 1842 and which after 1856 had been used as a library. The first Danville jail, built of logs, was erected in 1799, being later supplanted by one built of huge granite blocks from the Danville quarries. The St. Johnsbury court house was built in 1856 on Main Street, on what formerly had been a burial ground, from funds supplied jointly by the town and county. It was extensively improved in 1889. The first county jail at St. Johnsbury was also built in 1856, on Cherry Street, near the present county jail, which latter was its immediate successor.

Essex County was not actually organized until 1800. The County Court first sat at Lunenburg in December, 1800, met next at Brunswick in June, 1801, and again at Lunenburg in December, 1801. The fourth term was held at Guildhall in June, 1802, and since then that town has continued as the shire town. There, as early as 1797, Eben W. Judd gave some land to the county, on which to build a court house and jail, including the hill back of the Common, and there the first court house was built not long after 1800. It stood there until 1831, when, like at Newfane, it was moved down from

the hill, to the Common. At that time it was rebuilt and after that it served not only its judicial purposes, but also as a church and district school. In 1850 it was supplanted by the present court house, which, however, was modernized in recent years. The first jail at Guildhall was built about 1808, an old block house having previously been used for that purpose. The prsent jail dates back to 1885.

Franklin County is one of the few of the older counties which has always had the same shire town, St. Albans. The first court house, serving also for religious worship and for town meetings, was built of wood, soon after the creation of the county. Later faced with brick, it continued to serve for many years its various uses, the present court house dating back only to 1872. The Franklin County jail has had a less tranquil history. Until 1798 Franklin County prisoners were taken to Burlington or Vergennes, the first jail not being built until that year. The next jail stood near the site of the Tavern and the third jail south of St. Luke's Church, until its destruction by fire in 1813. The fourth jail, erected near the Tremont House, also was burned and a fifth building was erected on the same site, but later was removed somewhat further south, so that the present jail, on still another site, east of the Court House, is the seventh building erected at St. Albans for use as a county jail.

Orleans County Courts date back to March 24, 1800, when the first term was held at Craftsbury. From then until 1815 that town shared with Brownington the honor of being the shire town and courts were held alternately in these two places. In 1812 Irasburg was made the shire town, but the courts did not begin to sit there until 1816, by which time a new court house had been completed there. At Craftsbury the court house stood on the site now occupied by Craftsbury Academy, while Colonel Joseph Scott's buttery was used as the jail. At Brownington the courts sat in a small schoolhouse on the old Derby road, about a mile north of the present village of Brownington, and Judge Strong's cellar was the abode of those who had broken the laws. The first Irasburg court house was used until 1847, when the town, without expense to the county, erected a new one, which continued in use until the courts were transferred to Newport in 1886, that town having been the shire town since then. Until 1862 different buildings were used as jails at Irasburg, where a strong new jail, of granite, was built in that year. In Newport, which had been made the shire town in

1884, a brick court house, still in use, was built during 1884-86 and the County Court first sat there in February, 1886.

County Courts in Grand Isle, Washington and Lamoille—Though the county of Grand Isle was formed by an act of the Legislature, passed November 1, 1802, County Courts did not begin to meet at North Hero, always the shire town, until March, 1806, and not until 1824 did they sit in a court house of their own. Prior to that they met at the residence of Jedediah P. Ladd, another part of this building also serving as jail. The court house and jail, attractively located with a fine view of the lake, was built of Isle La Motte marble in 1824, an addition dating from 1867.

Washington County of today, as far as its name is concerned, dates back to 1814, though its incorporation was ordered by the Legislature in 1810. But for the first four years it was known as Jefferson County. It must not be confused, of course, with an earlier county by the same name, existing only for a short time during 1781-82, while Vermont included within its territory the forty-five New Hampshire towns, returned to that State, February 21, 1782. The shire town of the present Washington County has always been Montpelier, even when it was still known as Jefferson County. Until 1818 the County Courts met in the State House, but after that date there has always been a separate County Court House. The first one stood near the northwest corner of the State House Common, but was removed, in 1837, to a site east of the Pavilion Hotel, being used as a court house until the fall of 1843. Since then it has been used as a Roman Catholic church and, more recently, as the rectory of St. Augustine's Church. The new brick court house erected on Elm Street in 1843 was burned the same year and the Courts then sat in the Masonic Hall, until a new court house was completed on a site at Elm and State streets, bought with funds raised by subscription. An addition, built in 1879, as well as the original court house, which had been remodeled in the same year, were burned May 25, 1880. The buildings were rebuilt the same year and have continued to serve their purposes since then.

Lamoille County, the last county to be formed in Vermont, was incorporated in 1835. Hyde Park, after considerable competition on the part of several towns for the honor and advantage of being named the shire town, was finally selected and there a court house and jail were erected in 1837 by the town, the first session meeting that year. They were burned April 17, 1910, and new county buildings were erected in 1911.



JAMES BARRETT, 1814-1900, OF VERMONT,
Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court.

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT, AND SUPERIOR JUDGES

Name	Residence When First Elected	Time of Service
Moses Robinson	Bennington	1782-4, 1785-9.
Paul Spooner	Hartland	1782-9.
John Fassett, Jr.	Arlington	1782-6.
Jonas Fay	Bennington	1782-3.
Peter Olcott	Norwich	1782-5.
Thomas Porter	Tinmouth	1783-6.
Nathaniel Niles	West Fairlee	1784-8.
Nathaniel Chipman	Tinmouth	1786-7, 1789-91, 1796-7, 1813-15.
Luke Knowlton	Newfane	1786-7.
Stephen R. Bradley	Westminster	1788-9.
Noah Smith	Bennington	1789-94, Jan., 1791, 1798-1801.
Samuel Knight	Brattleboro	1789-94.
Elijah Payne	Williamstown	27 Jan., 1791-94.
Isaac Tichenor	Bennington	1791-6.
Lot Hall	Westminster	1794-1801.
Enoch Woodbridge	Vergennes	1794-1801.
Israel Smith	Rutland	1797-8.
Jonathan Robinson	Bennington	1801-7.
Royal Tyler	Brattleboro	1801-13.
Stephen Jacob	Windsor	1801-3.
Theophilus Harrington	Clarendon	1803-13.
Jonas Galusha	Shaftsbury	1807-9.
David Fay	Bennington	1809-13.
Daniel Farrand	Burlington	1813-15.
Jonathan H. Hubbard	Windsor	1813-15.
Asa Aldis	St. Albans	1815-16.
Richard Skinner	Manchester	1815-17, 1823-9.
James Fisk	Barre	1815-17.
William A. Palmer	Danville	1816-17.
Dudley Chase	Randolph	1817-21.
Joel Dolittle	Middlebury	1817-23, 1824-5.
William Brayton	Swanton	1817-22.
C. P. Van Ness	Burlington	1821-3.
Charles K. Williams	Rutland	1822-4, 1829-46.
Asa Aikens	Windsor	1823-5.
Samuel Prentiss	Montpelier	1825-30.
Titus Hutchinson	Woodstock	1825-33.
Stephen Royce	St. Albans	1825-7, 1829-52.
Bates Turner	St. Albans	1827-9.
Ephraim Paddock	St. Johnsbury	1828-31.
John C. Thompson	Burlington	1830
Nicholas Baylies	Montpelier	1831-3.
Samuel S. Phelps	Middlebury	1831-8.
Jacob Collamer	Woodstock	1833-42.

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT, AND SUPERIOR JUDGES
(Continued)

Name	Residence When First Elected	Time of Service
John Mattocks	Peacham	1833-5.
Isaac F. Redfield	Derby	Oct., 1835-60.
Milo L. Bennett	Burlington	1838-50, 1852-9.
William Hebard	Randolph	1842-5.
Daniel Kellog	Rockingham	1845-51.
Hiland Hall	Bennington	1846-50.
Charles Davis	Danville	1846-8.
Luke P. Poland	Morristown	8 Nov., 1848-50, Nov., 1857-65.
Pierpoint Isham	Bennington	1851-7.
Asa O. Aldis	St. Albans	4 Nov., 1857, Sept., 1865.
John Pierpoint	Vergennes	4 Nov., 1857-7 Jan., 1882.
James Barrett	Woodstock	4 Nov., 1857-80.
Loyal C. Kellogg	Benson	1859-67.
Asahel Peck	Burlington	1860-1, Sept., 1874.
Herman R. Beardsley	St. Albans	Sept.-Nov., 1865.
William C. Wilson	Bakersfield	1865-70.
Benjamin H. Steele	Derby	1865-70.
John Prout	Rutland	1867-69.
Hoyt H. Wheeler	Jamaica	1869-Mar. 31, 1877.
Homer E. Royce	St. Albans	1870-90.
Timothy P. Redfield	Montpelier	1870-84.
Jonathan Ross	St. Johnsbury	1870, 12 Jan., 1899.
H. Henry Powers	Morristown	1874-90.
Walter C. Dunton	Rutland	13 April, 1877-27 Oct., 1879.
Wheelock C. Veasey	Rutland	29 Oct., 1879-13 Sept., 1889.
Russell S. Taft	Burlington	1880-Mar. 22, 1902.
John W. Rowell	Randolph	10 Jan., 1882, Oct 1, 1913.
William H. Walker	Ludlow	1884-14 Sept., 1887.
James M. Tyler	Brattleboro	17 Sept., 1887, Nov. 30, 1908.
Loveland Munson	Manchester	13 Sept., 1889, Nov. 30, 1914, Feb. 1, 1915, Feb. 1, 1917.
Henry R. Start	Bakersfield	1890-6 Nov., 1905.
Laforrest H. Thompson	Irasburgh	1890-22 June, 1900.
John H. Watson	Bradford	19 Jan., 1899.
Wendell P. Stafford	St. Johnsbury	2 July, 1900, 7 June, 1904.
Seneca Haselton	Burlington	31 Mar., 1902, Nov. 30, 1906, Nov. 10, 1908, Nov. 30, 1914. Feb. 1, 1915, May 5, 1919.
George M. Powers	Morristown	7 June, 1904, Nov. 30, 1906, Jan. 28, 1909-
Willard W. Miles	Barton	Nov., 1905, Nov. 30, '06, Feb. 1, 1917, Feb 1, 1923.
William H. Taylor	Hardwick	Oct. 1, 1913-Mar. 27, 1926.
Leighton P. Slack	St. Johnsbury	Dec. 1, 1914, Jan. 31, 1916, May 5, 1919-

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT, AND SUPERIOR JUDGES
(Continued)

Name	Residence When First Elected	Time of Service
Robert E. Healy	Bennington	Dec. 1, 1914, Jan. 31, 1915.
Frank L. Fish	Vergennes	March 31, 1926.
Sherman R. Moulton	Burlington	Nov. 1, 1926.
Harrie B. Chase	Brattleboro	Sept. 17, 1927.

SUPERIOR JUDGES
(December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1928.)

Name	Residence When First Elected	Time of Service
Seneca Haselton	Burlington	Dec. 1, 1906, Nov. 10, 1908.
George M. Powers	Morristown	Dec. 1, 1906, Jan. 23, '09.
Willard W. Miles	Barton	Dec. 1, 1906, Feb. 1, 1917.
Eleazer L. Waterman	Brattleboro	Dec. 1, 1906, Jan. 31, 1919.
Alfred A. Hall	St. Albans	Dec. 1, 1906, Jan. 21, 1912.
William H. Taylor	Hardwick	Dec. 1, 1906, Sept. 21, 1913.
Zed S. Stanton	Roxbury	Dec. 1, 1908, Aug. 15, 1921.
Fred M. Butler	Rutland	Jan. 26, 1909, Jan. 31, 1923.
Frank L. Fish	Vergennes	Feb. 15, 1912, Nov. 30, 1914, Feb. 1, 1915, Mar. 31, 1926.
Leighton P. Slack	St. Johnsbury	Oct. 1, 1914, Nov. 30, 1915, Feb. 1, 1915, May 3, 1919.
Walter A. Dutton	Hardwick	Dec. 1, 1914, Jan. 31, 1915.
James B. Donaway	Middlebury	Dec. 1, 1914, Jan. 31, 1915.
Stanley C. Wilson	Chelsea	April 12, 1917, Sept. 6, 1923.
Sherman R. Moulton	Burlington	Feb. 1, 1919-
Harrie B. Chase	Brattleboro	May 19, 1919-
Julius A. Willcox	Montpelier	Aug. 25, 1921-
Frank D. Thompson	Barton	Feb. 1, 1923-
Warner A. Graham	Rockingham	Sept. 8, 1923-
John C. Sherburne	Randolph	April 8, 1926-
John S. Buttles	Brandon	Nov. 16, 1926-
Alfred L. Sherman	Burlington	Sept. 17, 1927-
Fred Bicknell	Windsor	Feb. 7, 1929-

CHAPTER XXII

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

First State Provisions for Schools—The Constitution of Vermont, adopted in 1777, was remarkable for the wisdom of many of its provisions. It was the first of State constitutions to forbid slavery and to permit manhood suffrage. It was the first which declared for a single "State University," although this provision was omitted in the revised Constitution of 1786, possibly through the influence of Dartmouth College. Quite as interesting was the suggestion that "a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town, for the convenient instruction of youth, and one or more grammar schools to be incorporated and properly supported in each county of this State." In nearly every township grant made by Vermont one right was reserved for town and one for county schools, and there were occasional tracts of land set apart for special educational purposes, such as the tract of twenty-three thousand acres given to Dartmouth College and named Wheelock Township in honor of its president. In the grants made by Benning Wentworth, three rights were reserved for religious purposes. One of these was for the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel, an English missionary association. The Venerable Society failed to do anything with their properties and, by an Act of 1794, these were applied to school purposes. From the proceeds of the sales of these school lands and other grants, originated the Vermont School Fund, the football of politics and a mildly helpful aid to the establishment of an educational system in the State.

Pioneer Efforts—The pioneers did not wait for a State organization before taking hold of their own affairs, educational as well as others. Early records show that some of the first towns to be settled put aside lands for school use, sold grants to provide for school support, or raised a tax, laid out school districts, built schoolhouses and hired teachers. Land was sequestered for a school by the proprietors of Guilford in 1761 and by those of Newbury in 1769. Bennington voted money for three schools in 1763, and few of the early settlements failed to make some provision for the teaching of the children. Chester voted to build a schoolhouse, 22 by 18 feet in size, February, 1773; Hartford, in 1775, chose a school committee. In 1778 Pomfret taxed the grain raised to establish a fund of eight pounds for school purposes. Clarendon and Wells were

divided into school districts in 1779. The State educational system grew out of schemes evolved by the first settlers in the solution of local school problems; experience and practice preceded legislation and controlled it for better or for worse. When it is considered within how few years after the settlement of the State there were such institutions as the University of Vermont, Middlebury College, and Norwich University, a half hundred academies, and more than two thousand common schools, it will hardly do to be critical.

What lay back of these results speaks well for the characters of the pioneers and their profound belief in the advantages of education. Dr. Williams, writing in 1794, had this to say of our forefathers in Vermont:

> Among the customs which are universal among the people in all parts of the State, one that seems worthy of remark is the attention that is paid to the education of children. The aim of the parent is not so much to have his children acquainted with the liberal arts and sciences, but to have them all taught to read with ease and propriety, to write a plain and legible hand, and to have them acquainted with the rules of arithmetic so far as shall be necessary to carry on any of the most common and useful occupations of life. All the children are trained up to this kind of knowledge. They are accustomed from their earliest years to read the Holy Scriptures, the periodical publications, newspapers, and political pamphlets; to form some general acquaintance with the laws of their country, the proceedings of the courts of justice, of the general assembly of the State, and of Congress. Such a kind of education is common and universal in every part of the State. And nothing would be more dishonourable to the parents or to the children than to be without it. One of the first things the new settlers attend to is to procure a schoolmaster to instruct their children in the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic. And where they are not able to procure an instructor, the parents attend to it themselves. No greater misfortune could attend a child than to arrive at manhood unable to read, write, and keep small accounts. He is viewed as unfit for the common business of the towns and plantations, and in a state greatly inferior to his neighbours. Every consideration joins to prevent so degraded and mortifying a state, by giving to every one the customary education and advantages. This custom was derived from the people of New England, and it has acquired greater force in the new settlements, where the people are apprehensive their children will have less advantages, and, of course, not appear equal to the children in the older towns.

Rise of the District School—It is quite evident that the early Vermonters took education seriously as they did most things, and that they attended to it personally and locally. There was no looking to any help or power outside the town, and no recognition of any higher or central authority in the control of educational affairs. They voluntarily established schools and wholly or in part maintained them for a long period and, because they had done this, there were

strong objections to delegating their rights in the matter to any but town leaders. It was this attitude which led to the rise of the district school system which flourished until beyond the middle of the last century, an interesting example of local control of public affairs. It will be recalled that there was no State Board of Education until 1856, and the most of the educational laws passed by the Legislature up to this time were permissive rather than mandatory. The aim of such legislation was to supplement private effort, to see that schools were provided in every town, and that the town, or district, be given the legal right to establish and sustain the local schools. The provision inserted in the first constitution of Vermont, while recognizing the function of the State in education, and the intimate relation of elementary and higher education, was not adopted with the idea that any organization larger than a county should direct the course of common school education. As someone has said, Vermont had as many republics as it had towns, "organized as pure democracies, possessed of large municipal powers, each voluntarily accepting the support of schools as a part of its duty, and each acting upon the principle that the school is of benefit to every citizen, and that every citizen is bound to contribute to its support."

The "district" was but an expansion of the town idea, and such were public corporations, with powers to lay taxes and largely to administer their schools in their own way. As Professor Goodrich has pointed out, the district was a little State in itself. It could levy, collect and expend taxes, build a schoolhouse, hire and dismiss teachers, and enjoy the delightful consciousness of political autonomy. The various offices were passed about, and conferred a temporary distinction upon moderator or treasurer or committeeman. "These privileges, after being enjoyed for several generations, came to be regarded as indefeasible, if not natural, rights, and were very reluctantly yielded in the 'seventies' and 'eighties' in the face of an effort to secure efficient supervision, competent instruction and equal school advantages to all children in each town." It was not until 1884 that the district was done away with by law, and there is still a hankering among a few for the long since out-of-date, decentralized school control. This lengthy emphasis upon the district school question is made because a failure to keep it in mind will lead to many misconceptions of the present school system.

The Little Red Schoolhouse—The district school and the little red schoolhouse have inspired much poetry, fiction and oratory; they are held in fond memory by many who are far removed in

years from the days when they trudged long distances through rain and snow and mud to the scenes of their early education. It is somewhat the fashion to deride the schools of yesteryear with their small and often isolated buildings, meager resources and furnishings, short sessions, untrained teachers and limited curriculum. They were as good as their times. The old district school produced generations of competent men, who, whatever they lacked of grammar, were fully capable of taking care of their own interests and making a mark in the world of larger affairs. Dr. Bagley, using the most modern form of comparisons in estimating the value of educational systems, rated Vermont as sixth among the States in 1880, just before the district school died the death, while in 1920 the State ranked but twenty-fourth. The old red schoolhouse and its predecessor, the log cabin, were rude and comfortless affairs with their plain desks and blackboard and clumsy stove. The course of study went little beyond the "three R's" and the two "G's"—geography and grammar—but the pupils did learn how to spell, to write a legible hand and could "cast up accounts," knowledge which the present-day schools find difficulty in imparting. A worthy teacher of those days could do very much to prepare the pupil for the life he had to enter, could give more, perhaps, than is possible in the crowded schools of today. The trouble was that it was not possible to pay teachers a decent wage, school affairs were the province of men who were busy with other matters, there was little supervision, and educational requirements were low. One reads of a Newbury teacher who had been to school but half a day herself. "She was not incompetent, however, having learned through her own efforts to read and write. She also knew a little something of the science of numbers and taught successfully. As there was no mirror in her boarding house, it was her custom of mornings to go down to the river, step into a boat and look over the side to see, in the reflection, whether her toilet was properly made." Boarding around was part of the teacher's compensation; even the wages were often paid partly in kind rather than money. A Windham schoolmistress was paid fifty cents a week in salts, butter, and grains, "according to her needs or the convenience of her debtors." Of course these were teachers of the pioneer days, but inadequate pay was not a characteristic only of the very early period. In the inaugural message of Governor Barstow, in 1882, discussing educational topics he mentioned that in 1880 there were 2,359 school districts in the State, 75,238 pupils and 4,359 teachers. "The average weekly wage of the Vermont teachers was $5.55, including board. This was compared with

an average wage of $3.15 in 1850; $3.72 in 1860 and $6.06 in 1870." Evidently it is not necessary to go back to Colonial days to find evidence of poorly paid instruction.

County Grammar Schools—The provision in the 1777 Constitution which was the inspiration of the State elementary school system, suggested that "one or more grammar schools be incorporated and properly supported in each county." Again let it be emphasized that these early schools were private affairs publicly incorporated. It was not until 1797 that a law was passed which provided for compulsory schools, and this meant only that the towns must provide schools. It was not until 1810 that these schools were required by law to remain open two months of the year to receive town money; it was not until 1876 that the term was extended to 20 weeks in the year. Not until 1867 was there a law requiring children between 8 and 14 years to attend school three months yearly. It was not until 1864 that public schools became wholly free, that is when no taxes were laid upon the pupil. The free textbook rule did not go in force until 1892. To sum up the matter, Vermont, although providing for compulsory education at an early period, took a whole century after the settlement of the State to come to the realization that a compulsory education should not be semi-privately supported, that property rather than persons was justly responsible for the support of free schools. It is true that after 1810 private subscriptions and tuition fees became increasingly less important and public taxes assumed the more prominent rôle. But, to repeat, free schools date from 1864, and the first State school tax was not laid until 1890.

The so-called "grammar" or county schools were intended to provide secondary education much after the fashion of the "academy" which immediately preceded and followed them. A law of 1782 provided for the appointment of trustees for grammar schools, and for a tax which might be laid upon the county, if the county chose, to build a county schoolhouse. So little public aid was given these schools that they were little, if any, better off than the academies which were controlled wholly by private societies incorporated by legislative acts. The county grammar schools, incorporated as such were: Windsor County Grammar School establishd in 1785 at Norwich; Rutland County Grammar School, 1787 at Castleton, which became, in 1867, a State Normal School; Caledonia County Grammar School, at Peacham in 1795; Addison County Grammar School at Middlebury, 1797; Franklin County Grammar School at St. Albans,

1799; Windham County Grammar School at Newfane in 1801; Chittenden County Grammar School at Waterbury in 1801; Essex County Grammar School at Guildhall in 1805; Orange County Grammar School at Randolph in 1805—subsequently (1867) a normal school; County Grammar School at Royalton in 1807 (Royalton Academy); Franklin County Grammar School at Fairfield in 1808; Orleans County Grammar School at Brownington and the Orleans County Grammar School at Craftsbury in 1812; Washington County Grammar School at Montpelier in 1813, made over from the Montpelier Academy incorporated in 1800; Lamoille County Grammar School at Johnson in 1836 (formerly Lamoille Academy of 1832 and later 1867, a State normal school); Evidently Grand Isle and Bennington counties never had any "grammar schools."

It will be noted that, although these institutions have failed to survive in the State educational system, the County Grammar schools were often the foundations upon which other institutions were builded. The Middlebury school was the origin of Middlebury College. The three normal schools succeeding the grammar schools at Castleton, Randolph and Johnson, have been noted. High schools and academies have been founded on the ruins of most of the others; the Caledonia County Grammar School at Peacham was the only one of its class which retained its original name and character down to the present century. Joseph A. DeBoer, the historian *par excellence* of the "Early Vermont Academies and County Grammar Schools" believes that the failure of the grammar schools was due to the inherited and developed independent individuality of the pioneers of the State which disliked public interference or oversight in what was considered a private duty and privilege.

Rise of Academies—Mr. DeBoer, continuing, says of this independence, as the outgrowth of a difficult experience: "It probably impaired, in some degree, the future usefulness of their colleges; it largely explains the multiplicity of academies over territories too thinly populated to support them, but in exchange for this, it put quality into character, solidity into thought, and earnestness into life. The early Vermont men were identities, nor was the identity lost in training. Their originality remained intact; their progress was by individuals, not by classes. Their history gave them a character, and their character so colored their early schools as to make them a special phase of New England life. No other schools have done, or could have done, the peculiar work of these early academies."



HARDWICK ACADEMY AND GRADED SCHOOL

The academy differed little from the country grammar school in instruction and internal government. Being needed, they were early established. They won public confidence and were sustained loyally. "Fostered in the people's affections, energized by the lives of noble and devoted teachers, enriched by the lives of Vermont's aspiring youth, and animated by a fine spirit of service, they have, in turn, nourished the very life of the people. By inspiring in youth the love of truth, beauty and righteousness, by loyalty to high and worthy ideals of life and conduct, by giving a training for civic and social, as well as industrial, duties of life, they have been potent factors in the elevation and enrichment of the citizenship of our State, and in the development of that sterling manhood and womanhood that has been, and still is, the glory of the Green Mountain State." (Walter E. Ranger.)

A volume might be given to the history of the Vermont academies; only the names of a few can be included within the limits of this sketch. There follows as compact a record of the Vermont academies as is known to the writer. It comes from the pen of Walter E. Ranger, a former State Superintendent of Education, and was published in 1903:

A few of the early academies are still in existence, some have become associated with the public school system, and many have ceased to exist as secondary schools. Following is the list of academies so far as ascertained, that are no longer existent: Clio Hall, Bennington, chartered in 1780; Athens Grammar School, Athens, 1791; Cavendish Academy, Cavendish, 1792; Windham Hall, Newfane, 1801; Dorset Grammar School, Dorset, 1807; Addison Literary Society, Addison, 1810; Union Academy, Hubbardton, 1812; Chester Academy, Chester, 1814; Union Academy, Bennington, 1817; Arlington Academy, Arlington, 1817; Poultney Female Academy, Poultney, 1819; Concord Academy, Concord, 1823; St. Johnsbury Female Academy, St. Johnsbury, 1824; Jericho Academy, Jericho, 1828; Georgia Academy, Georgia, 1838; Green Mountains Perkins Academy, South Woodstock, 1848; Barre Academy, Barre, 1849. Since 1850 academies have been instituted and discontinued, so far as can be ascertained, in Londonderry, Norwich, Poultney, Pawlet, Rutland, Franklin, Alburgh, Holland, Albany, Charleston, Coventry, Underhill, Morgan and Williston.

Among the academies merged into public high schools are the following: Brattleboro Academy, Brattleboro, chartered in 1801; Brandon Academy, Brandon, 1806; West Rutland Academy, West Rutland, 1810; Wallingford Academy, Wallingford, 1814; Windsor Female Academy, Windsor, 1812 and 1822; Bradford Academy, Bradford, 1820; Vergennes Academy, Vergennes, 1822; Hinesburg Academy, Hinesburg, 1824; Columbian Academy, Windsor, 1826; Burlington High School, Burlington, 1829; Black River Academy, Ludlow, 1834; Enosburg Academy, Enosburg, 1839; Hartford Academy, Hartford, 1839; Phillips Academy, Danville, 1840; Chelsea Academy, Chelsea, 1851; Swanton Falls Academy, Swanton, 1862; New Haven Academy, 1865, and Beeman Academy,

New Haven, 1869; Barton Academy, Barton, 1870; Literary and Scientific Institute, Bristol; People's Academy, Morrisville; Newbury Seminary, Newbury; West Randolph Academy, West Randolph; Northfield Institute, Northfield; Missisquoi Academy, North Troy; Hardwick Academy, Hardwick; Lamoille Central Academy, Hyde Park; New Hampton Institute, Fairfax.

The academies now operating in the State, controlled by private corporations and reported to the State Department of Education, are as follows: Caledonia County Grammar School, otherwise known as Peacham Academy, Peacham, incorporated in 1795; Thetford Academy, Thetford, 1819; Leland and Gray Seminary, Townshend, 1826; Burr and Burton Seminary, Manchester, 1829; Craftsbury Academy, Craftsbury, 1829; Vermont Methodist Seminary, Montpelier, formerly of Newbury, 1833; Troy Conference Academy, Poultney, 1834; Derby Academy, Derby, 1839; St. Johnsbury Academy, St. Johnsbury, 1842; Goddard Seminary, Barre, 1863; Lyndon Institute, Lyndon Center, 1867; Essex Classical Institute, Essex, 1869; Vermont Academy, Saxtons River, 1871; Brigham Academy, successor of an older academy, Bakersfield, opened in 1879; McIndoes Academy, McIndoes Falls. To these may be added Royalton Academy, Royalton, first incorporated in 1807, and Maple Lawn Academy, a private institution located at South Hero.

High Schools—In 1841 what was probably the first law was passed that presaged more or less the giving of secondary instruction by the State. All this law provided for was the association of two or more contiguous school districts to maintain a union school for the benefit of the older children. The Acts of 1844 and 1867, including the amendment of the latter in 1878, advanced the program but little, and but few high schools had been established in the State. Since 1894 towns having a population of 2,500 have been required either to maintain a high school or furnish its students advanced instruction in academies or high schools elsewhere. The Legislature of 1904 defined a high school as being one maintained for thirty-three or more weeks in each year, taught by teachers of competent ability, etc., having an established course or courses of study, and providing instruction in certain specified subjects. By this time there were about sixty-five high schools, including some academies, in the State having about six thousand pupils. Most of these schools had been established between 1870 to 1904.

From 1841 to 1894, or more than half a century, marks the length of time it took the people to accept the idea that secondary or high school instruction was a function of government, something to be paid for out of the public treasury. If there are any today who believe it unwise and unjust to impose taxes for these higher schools of learning it is because they hold the mistaken idea that the high schools have as their principal purpose the fitting of youth for college; that comparatively few Vermont students ever go

to college. Preparation for higher schooling is recognized as but one part, and the minor one, of the twofold function of the high school, although a constantly higher percentage of high school graduates are entering our colleges and universities. The chief purpose of the high school is to finish the schooling begun in the elementary schools. As such this institution has become increasingly popular within the last two decades, there being a phenomenal expansion in both schools of this class and the number of boys and girls attending them. In 1910 Vermont had fifty-five public high schools with an enrollment of 4,566; in 1928 there were one hundred and eight with a total enrollment of 12,396. "One person in every 32 in Vermont attends public high school now (1927), while only one in 77 was in secondary schools in 1910." It is worth noting that the estimated expense of high schools for 1929 is almost a million dollars. (See table at the end of this chapter.)

Modern High Schools—The present day high school is of several kinds and many grades. The best of them are from many points of view better than the colleges of the last century in what they give to the students and do for them. There are senior high schools, sometimes termed junior-senior high schools, whose courses cover a period of six years, beginning with the seventh grade instead of with the ninth of the four-year school. Then there are junior high schools, where by law a four-year course is provided from the seventh to the tenth grade inclusive. The same title is applied to certain schools where instruction stops with the eighth or ninth grades, but these are not recognized by State law.

Within the past two years new high schools have been built at Bellows Falls, Shelburne, and Jacksonville in Whitingham, graded schools being housed in the two latter buildings. High schools at Rutland, Morrisville and West Rutland are even later additions to the educational plants of their respective communities.

Teachers' Retirement Association—Voluntary membership in this organization has brought the number of participants up to 400 and by the last Legislature an act was passed which allows a few other worthy teachers to share in the benefits of the funds. Thirty-two teachers are now drawing pensions and the funds are over the four hundred thousand dollar mark. By the will of Mrs. Fletcher D. Proctor the fund will be increased by the generous sum of $30,000.

Standard and Superior Schools—Nothing has accomplished more along progressive lines, particularly in the hundreds of rural com-

munities, than the plan of ranking the schools as "Standard" or "Superior." Graded and high schools are eligible for these high honors, but the greatest benefit has come to the smaller schools. Among the pioneers in this laudable work was Vermont's noted writer, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, who with vigorous speech or forceful writing labored in season and out of season to raise the standards of our rural schools of which there are about one thousand. A further impetus to betterment was the generous offer of two loyal and philanthropic Vermonters, Ex-Governor Redfield Proctor and Miss Emily Proctor, in establishing prizes of $50 to go to the two one-room rural schools in each county showing the greatest improvement between March 15 and September 15. Other prizes are given annually by local newspapers or interested patrons. Another special incentive toward rural school improvement was the establishment of a Community Fund by the State, by which aid is granted on a fifty-fifty basis not to exceed $100 to schools whose pupils and the community match this sum. Already seventy-four schools have taken advantage of this Act. By the last Legislature this fund was increased to $10,000 per year, that two hundred schools might be aided.

Schools are rated by a very carefully prepared schedule and when these requirements are fully met they are listed either as Superior or Standard schools. Each year sees more schools officially standardized and one-third are now in this much coveted list. There are three times as many "Superior" schools as "Standard" schools, many of the latter coming into the higher class each year. It is the fond hope of the educational authorities of the State that before the close of 1930 the majority of the schools of Vermont will have on their buildings the sign "Standard."

Training Teachers—It takes a good teacher to make a good school, and a great many teachers are required to supply 2,205 public schools. When the Educational Commission, appointed in 1912, asked about two thousand people to express their best judgment as to the essential matters that should first receive attention in order to enable the schools of the State to render the most effective service to the children and people of Vermont, one-third of the replies specified "better trained teachers," one sixth said "higher salaries for teachers," and about the same number specified "more expert supervision." "It is quite clear, therefore, that the teacher is universally regarded as the keystone of the educational arch." How to secure the required number of properly trained teachers has proven an al-

most unsolvable problem. How to get a sufficient number of teachers of even fair training has been difficult. A recent report of the State Board of Education (printed in full at the end of this chapter) shows that the number of elementary school teachers not *previously* employed in the State during 1927, totaled 2,361; to which must be added 557 high school teachers not previously employed in the State, or nearly three thousand. The teacher turnover quite evidently is very high. R. M. Steele, in his study of Vermont teacher training in 1925, pointed out that during the school year of 1924-25, there were 724 teachers who left service in Vermont; only 209 who reentered service, and 515 who first entered service that year. The net loss amounts to little, but the loss of experienced teachers is very great, and the changes made altogether too frequently a distressing condition. Mr. Steele states: "High school teachers give an average of 2.5 years to teaching in Vermont and remain in each place on an average of 1.6 years. Graded teachers stay on an average of 2 7-8 years in a position and teach eight years, while the rural teacher rarely stays more than one year in a place and on the average teaches only 3.15 years." It is somewhat difficult to have efficient rural schools when the greater part of the year the pupil and teacher are getting used to each other, only to do this again in the next year. The great problem, however, is from whence, and how shall the seven or eight hundred new teachers required each year (the number runs up to 1,000 or more some years) be secured, and what can Vermont do by way of training the teachers she needs.

Early Efforts to Improve Teaching—The first legal recognition of the need of teacher training dates back to 1845, when provisions were made for teachers' meetings. There had been educational meetings held since 1830. Possibly the first teachers' convention was that in 1836, gathering in Montpelier. The Vermont Society for the Improvement of the Common School was formed in 1845, the same year that the first State Superintendent of Education was elected. The first Teachers' Institute, under State direction and support, was held in 1846 at Essex. As usual private and public interest in teacher-training had preceded legislation. The "institute" with few lapses for far more than a half century was a feature of the educational program of the State and remained very much what it was in the beginning. Teachers in large numbers met together and were inspired and instructed in the principles and methods of teaching. Papers were read, addresses given, conferences held on every conceivable subject connected with school life, administration

and pedagogy. It was a potent force in education. In the present day, the institute has been replaced by various teachers' meetings and conventions, local, county, district, and State—held during the year. In these meetings the purposes and ends, principles and methods, usages and problems, are brought before the teachers and administrators and instruction and help is imparted. The programs are arranged and carried out by the officers of the teachers, the meetings are well attended, and the benefits received gratifying. The attendance at the annual State conventions almost reaches 2,000 of teachers and others intimately connected with educational interests. The historical interest clustering about the teachers' institute is due to the facts that it was the oldest institution for teacher training and the first to be supported by State funds.

Private efforts for the improvement of teachers antedated the "institute" by many years. Jacob Eddy, Quaker, town clerk of Danby from 1785 to 1788, held a fall term in the Danby schoolhouse for the instruction of teachers. To quote another account, he "taught a select school for the purpose of training young men for the vocation of teaching." As far as is known to the writer, this was the first school held expressly for teachers in the United States. Mrs. Emma Willard had a school for girls at Middlebury, in 1814, quite evidently for the purpose of fitting members of her sex for teaching, but this was hardly a normal school. It will be recalled that the women of that day had little encouragement to acquire a higher education or to be expectant of receiving decent pay as teachers. Men were sought, some of the pioneer town schools were refused maintenance unless the teacher was male.

"The First Normal School in America"—Many years after the Eddy attempt, whatever this may have been, or whatever it may be called, Samuel Reed Hall opened at Concord Corner, March 11, 1823, what has been termed the "first concrete expression in America of the idea of a teacher-training institution," or the first normal school on this side of the ocean. This claim is made:

> First, because it was Mr. Hall's declared intention in establishing this school to elevate the condition of education by furnishing teachers specially trained for their vocations. Second, because Mr. Hall's "Lectures of School-Keeping" constituted the first formal instruction in pedagogy in this country, and when published, in 1829, was the first printed book on the subject of teaching. And lastly, because of the practice school of younger pupils Mr. Hall maintained. The methods which Mr. Hall first employed are now used in practically every normal school in the country and the principles which he laid down are directly in line with the ideas of modern educators. He may truly be called the "Pioneer and Father of Normal Schools in America."

Mr. Hall began as a teacher in Rumford, Maine, in 1814, and in 1822 was principal of an academy in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, being also licensed as a Congregational minister. Moving to Vermont in 1823, he opened the "Columbian School," later chartered as an academy, which in 1825 became the Essex County Grammar School. In addition to acting as pastor and teacher, he opened his unique normal school, for which the citizens of the town, during the summer of 1823, provided a building. Here for seven years, but little encouraged or aided, untaught and without guidance, he originated, planned, organized and conducted this first school of teacher training. He saw "his vision and his labors recognized, and lived to see normal schools established in nearly every state." Nothing now remains of the original school building on the hill except a small rectangular ridge which outlines its foundations and the Hall marker placed on this historic spot by the Vermont Historical Society. In 1829 Mr. Hall helped found the American Institute of Instruction and a year later he was at the famous Phillips Academy at Andover. He kept a teachers' seminary in Plymouth, New Hampshire, from 1837 to 1840, after which he came back to Vermont and located at Craftsbury. Here he established a teachers' department in connection with the academy which he taught from 1840 to 1846. He died at Brownington, June 24, 1877, and was buried at Orleans. He was Vermont's first great educator, a truly great man whose great service to America should be more worthily recognized.

The Concord Pageant—The centenary of the first normal school was fittingly observed at Concord, April 11-15, 1923, and was attended by many prominent educators in Vermont and elsewhere. Beginning on Sunday with the convention of the Vermont State Sunday School Association it continued through Tuesday with the educational anniversary celebrating the founding of the normal school, and on Wednesday the dedication of the marker. The climax of the celebration was reached at the presentation of the historic pageant, written and produced by Miss Madeline I. Randall of St. Johnsbury and under the general direction of Rev. A. M. Markey, pastor of the Concord Methodist Church. Among the participants in the program were Chairman Arthur W. Hewitt of the State Board of Education, Commissioner Clarence H. Dempsey and two of his predecessors, Mason S. Stone of Montpelier and Walter E. Ranger, now at the head of the Rhode Island school system, Governor Redfield Proctor, Judge Wendell P. Stafford of Washington and Dr. William C. Bagley of Columbia University. The various

exercises interested large crowds and the pageant was a wonderful historic presentation of a great event in educational circles.

State Normal Schools—The academies were one of the sources of the teacher supply since many of these institutions maintained courses in pedagogy. It became evident, however, that the teachers belonged to a specialized class of public servants and should therefore be prepared for their work in special State-supported institutions. The State normal school therefore soon became a part of the Vermont educational system. In 1866 the Legislature passed an act setting up the Orange County Grammar School at Randolph Center as a State Normal School for a period of five years under the direction of the Board of Education. This board was authorized to change over other grammar schools wishing to do so, with the restriction that not more than one could be established in each Congressional district. The normal schools at Johnson and Castleton were promptly founded under this law. The Board of Education was given control over the course of studies which might be pursued, and other minor features. The normal schools, so the law stipulated, were to cost the State nothing either for their establishment or maintenence. After five years no person was to be allowed to teach in Vermont without a certificate of fitness.

"Originally established for a five-year period, the schools were renewed at intervals until 1880. Two ten-year extensions followed, bringing them down to 1900. The Legislature, in 1898, continued the normal schools at Randolph, Castleton and Johnson until August, 1920. In 1911 Randolph became a State agricultural school, while the schools at Castleton and Johnson ceased to exist as State normal schools because of the refusal of the Legislature of 1919 to extend their charters, which expired in August, 1920." (Steele.) Funds for the continuance of normal schools had been provided by the State for many years but seldom in sufficient amounts; neither were the schools efficient. Pupils would not come to the normal schools, and the normal schools never were able to graduate an adequate number of teachers. This sums up the history of the Vermont normals schools over a period of more than half a century.

There were all sorts of inquiries into the reasons for the failure of the normal schools. Practically every Governor proclaimed their weakness. Commissions were appointed without end. In 1914 the Carnegie Foundation, by request, made a thorough survey of the conditions of education in the State, normal schools included. "In all this time no single one of these investigating bodies or official

boards, no Governor nor Commissioner of Education, has declared in favor of a continuance of the existing schools. In spite of this vigorous and continued opposition, these small normal schools have displayed a tenacity in continuing that has surprised their supporters and mystified the opposition." The much investigated schools are today in active service, stronger in numbers and teaching force with an *esprit de corps* that no Legislature can destroy.

Castleton Normal School has had a long and interesting history, for under one name or another it has existed since it was chartered in 1787. The main building was destroyed by fire in 1924, but an appropriation of $110,000 by the 1927 Legislature provided for a new building, which was dedicated September 22, 1928. "The whole plant at Castleton, while not extravagant, is one in which the people of Vermont may feel a justifiable pride." The principal, Miss Caroline S. Woodruff, has a fine grasp on the situation and combines a wise administration with a vision for better training for Vermont teachers. There has been a steady increase in enrollment since she came to the school seven years ago.

Johnson Normal opened its doors last September in its one hundred and first year with fifty-three students. Its new principal, Ralph C. Jenkins, a native Vermonter who came from a Connecticut superintendency, is well equipped for the work. The spirit of the institution is fine and through all the years the people of Johnson have stood loyally by it.

The University of Vermont course has been steadily increasing in numbers and efficiency and the enrollment in 1928 was 166 or more than double the attendance in 1922. Lyndon Institute maintains a two-year normal training course with an enrollment of sixty-seven. The training is professional in character and the standards high. Six one-year classes were conducted in 1928 at Barre, Brattleboro, Montpelier, Randolph, Swanton and Windsor, while, in 1929 there were but three,—at Brattleboro, Montpelier and Randolph, and these were maintained only for the benefit of those students living at a distance from any of the two-year courses.

The one-year and two-year courses in teacher-training were started under the necessity of getting around the conditions brought about by the refusal of the Legislature of 1919 to renew the charters of the State normal schools. Something had to be provided to replace the practically abolished normals. At first, under a permissive law which allowed the State Board of Education to "locate and establish without expense to the State a central normal school of

education whenever suitable buildings or adequate funds for the erection of the same are provided by private gift or bequest," it was proposed that a central teachers' college should be established affiliated with the University of Vermont, to be located at Burlington, to provide normal work on both a two-year and a four-year basis. The Carnegie Corporation had offered $100,000, and the University of Vermont had agreed to deed land and raise $200,000, the sum necessary to secure the amount to be contributed by the Carnegie Corporation. The State, as a further condition of the gifts, was expected to agree to making an annual provision of $100,000 for the support of this central teachers' college. It was on this latter condition that the possibility of such a normal school was wrecked. The Legislature refused all these proposals and instead authorized the annual appropriation of $100,000 to carry out the provisions of a law which read, in part, that the State Board of Education "in its discretion may establish not more than five nor less than three, two-year teacher-training courses, and may also establish in connection with high schools, seminaries and academies, one-year courses." These courses, chiefly two-year, are the present State agencies for the training of teachers.

State Supervision—Vermont was the first of the New England States, and third only to New York and Maryland, to found a system of State supervision of its schools. In 1827, the Legislature created the first State board of commissioners for the common schools. Its duties were mainly advisory, and it was discontinued in 1833. In 1845 a very elaborate system of State, county and town supervision was set up with a State superintendent as the head, with county superintendents and town superintendents serving under him. County supervision was abolished in 1849, and for five years from 1851 no State superintendent was appointed. In 1856 a State Board of Education was created consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and three members, Calvin Pease, Dorr Bradley and T. P. Redfield. This board continued to govern until 1874 when a Superintendent of Education was substituted, to which office Edward Conant of Randolph was elected by the General Assembly. Until 1913 the Superintendent of Education was the responsible power to "define educational policies, formulate rules for their application and to supervise methods, check up results, and remedy errors in practice." The list of State Superintendents and Secretaries of the Board of Education with their terms of office are: Superintendents—Horace Eaton, 1845-50; Charles G. Burnham, 1850-51;



VERMONT BUILDING AT EASTERN STATES EXPOSITION, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

Secretaries—John S. Adams, 1856-67; Andrew E. Rankin, 1867-70; John H. French, 1870-74; Superintendents—Edward Conant, 1874-80; Justus Dart, 1880-88; Edwin F. Palmer, 1888-92; Mason S. Stone, 1892-1900; Walter E. Ranger, 1900-1905; Mason S. Stone, 1905-1916. In 1912-13, the Legislature created the existing Board of Education, and in 1915, the office of Commissioner of Education for which Milo B. Hillegas, of New York, was chosen. He was succeeded in 1920 by the present incumbent, Clarence H. Dempsey. Fortunate is the State that has at the head of its educational system such a wise leader and counsellor.

Local Supervision—The lapses and the changes in system of State supervision of the common schools have not made for efficiency or appreciation of its worth. Local supervision has suffered even more from the inability of striking on ways and means for continuous and progressive service. County supervision, which for many years was successful in most States, did not meet with favor in Vermont. It was tried in 1845-59 and again in 1898-90 and less directly in other years, but county supervision of what was either State or town educational affairs did not suit Vermonters.

Superintending town committees had their rise with the Act of 1827, and were for the purpose of choosing teachers and books and to visit schools once or twice a month. They lapsed between 1833 and 1845 and continued thereafter with little change up to the town superintendent of 1903. The town superintendent of the 1903 period not only performed the duties of the old "Committee" and some administrative requirements, but since has had many other burdens thrust upon his shoulders until, in the larger towns and cities, where skilled superintendents are employed, he is an exceedingly busy and important official.

Supervision in 1929—The existing scheme of school supervision in Vermont is divided somewhat into business and educational administration. The first is handled by the school directors with the superintendent's assistance; all that remains of local supervision, which is nearly the whole thing, must be handled by the superintendent. To quote from the 1928 report of the Board of Education: "As is well known there are three types of supervisors in force at present in Vermont—district superintendents, town superintendents and supervising principals. Each town chooses, under certain legal restrictions, the type it prefers. For the most part the supervisory work in the State can be commended, but it must frankly be admitted that in a few places it lacks much unity, stability and uniform

excellence that are desirable. The State supervisors and helping teachers have been able to help out materially in this respect, yet their services are necessarily spread too thinly for most effective results. The importance of good supervision can hardly be over emphasized. Without it a school system will not only fail to grow but will deteriorate. Every reasonable effort should be made to make the supervision of the schools and especially of classroom instruction improve no less rapidly than the teaching force or school property.

"In the school year 1927-28 there were 37 district superintendents, serving 208 town school districts, an average of five and one-half towns each; 8 superintendents each in charge of one large city or town (Burlington, Rutland, Barre, Montpelier, Brattleboro, Bennington I. D., Springfield and Hartford); 26 supervising principals each in charge of one town or district only; and 21 "town" superintendents having under their care a total of 27 towns. These town superintendents devote a part of their time to their schools. The question naturally arises—Are ninety-three persons needed for the supervision of our public schools? Could the number be profitably reduced, and if so, how? A real problem awaits solution."

Duties and Aims of the State Department—Vermont, with rather more difficulties to be overcome than in many other States, has progressed well in her educational program. According to certain modern tests and norms, Vermont ranks sixth among the States in intelligence and leadership. It ties with New Hampshire for first place in morality and respect for fundamental law, while in economic efficiency it stands third to Massachusetts and New York. Combining all of a half a dozen measures into one index, Vermont ranks second among the States. (Steele.) In so far as these facts have been results of the educational system, they speak well for that system. In a comparison of the State system with those of other States, as made by Dr. Bagley, he ranks Vermont's place as 6th in 1880; 7th in 1890; 11th in 1900; 4th in 1910; and 24th in 1920. It is quite likely that a return would be indicated to the higher places, if the measure should be made today, for 1920, as will be recalled, was a period when political differences had wrought havoc with educational affairs, a time when normal schools had practically been abolished and $300,000 proffered aid for the establishment of a teachers' college had been refused. Out of this disastrous slough of despond, education in the State has long since clambered. As shown by State laws the school policy has been expressed to the effect that sufficient

school accommodations shall be provided and the quality of them bettered; that competent teachers shall be employed; that all children must attend school and complete an elementary education; that high schools must be maintained or tuition paid for secondary education; that ample money shall be provided for the support of schools, etc. The duty of the State Department of Education is to see that the laws are enforced. This is really but a phase of the Board's activities, which are too numerous and far-reaching to be enumerated.

In a condensed form the educational program of the State Department, as outlined in 1926, may be stated as:

1. The prompt and effective performance of those duties and tasks required by law of the State Department and its officials. These functions include the administration of the State office, enforcement and exposition of laws, administration of State educational funds, direction of teacher training and certification, determination of educational standards and requirements, extensive field service, and other of similar nature. This is the way in which the State, as such, does its part in the education of its children.

2. The promotion in all possible ways of the employment of well-trained, competent teachers in every school in the State.

3. The improvement of teachers in service. Summer schools, educational meetings, personal visits, are a few of the methods used.

4. The improvement of all rural and town schools in the State. "Standardization" is the great word at present, of which the above is the definition. Where a school is defective or below par in any respect, the endeavor is made to correct these conditions. It is expected that all the rural schools of Vermont will, by 1930, be standardized.

5. The improvement of secondary schools both public and private.

6. The adjustment or adaptation of education both to the welfare of children and to conditions and needs of the State. Education "should be so planned and carried out that it will directly promote our agricultural and industrial welfare, and the integrity and worth of our community life."

7. The extension of educational opportunities to adults and to youth whose special needs are not met well by regular school work.

8. Development of local public support, interest, initiative and responsibility. It is almost impossible to make better schools than the people of the locality wish and will work for.

The State Department of Education in 1928 consisted of: Three members, Arthur W. Hewitt, Chairman, of Plainfield; Mrs. Blanche B. Bryant of Springfield; Bert L. Stafford of Rutland; Commissioner of Education, Clarence H. Dempsey of Montpelier; Executive Clerk, Edmund P. Hamilton of Montpelier; Deputy Commissioners, Carl J. Batchelder of St. Johnsbury, and Clayton L. Erwin of Bellows Falls; Free Public Library Department, Mildred C. Cook, Secretary, of Montpelier.

Vermont-born Educators—As in all other walks of life one finds that men born in Vermont have made a lasting impress upon the educational life of the world and their name is legion. Over thirty of our colleges and universities have had Vermont-born men at their head and scores of men are filling chairs as professors. This list is fairly complete and only includes those who have founded or become heads of the institutions: Lucien W. Berry from Alburg, president of De Pauw University and of the Iowa Wesleyan College; Justin Loomis from Bennington, president of Bucknell University; Richmond Fisk from Bennington, second president of St. Lawrence University; Joel Parker from Bethel, president of Union Theological Seminary; Alonzo Church from Brattleboro, for thirty years president of the University of Georgia; Wilbur Fisk from Brattleboro, one of the founders and for many years president of Wesleyan University; James W. Strong from Brownington, first president of Carleton College; Samuel H. Greene from Enosburg, president of George Washington University; Hosea Ballou (2), from Guilford, one of the founders and first acting president of Tufts College; Samuel Gregory, also from Guilford, founder of the first medical college for women in the world at Boston in 1848, afterwards merged with the medical school of Boston University; John Holbrook from Hartland, president of Jefferson Military College; Webster Merrifield from Newfane, president of the University of North Dakota; Alden Partridge of Norwich, founder of Norwich University and later president of the Jefferson Military College; Nathaniel Colver from Orwell, president of the Freedman's Institute at Richmond, Virginia; James R. Kendrick from Poultney, president of Vassar College; John H. MacCracken from Rochester, president of Westminster College; Selim H. Peabody from Rockingham, president of the University of Illinois; Ichabod S. Spencer from Rupert, declined the presidency of the University of Alabama and Hamilton College and one of the founders of the Union Theological Seminary; Elnathan E. Higbee from St. George, a college president and super-

intendent of public instruction for the State of Pennsylvania; Milo P. Jewett from St. Johnsbury, one of the founders of Vassar College and its first president; Stephen Peet from Sandgate, one of the founders of Beloit College and sole founder of thirty churches; Heman Dyer from Shaftsbury, president of Western University; Calvin B. Hulbert from Sheldon, president of Middlebury College; Irah Chase from Stratton, founder of the Newton Theological Institute; James R. W. Sloane from Topsham, president of Richmond and Geneva Colleges in Ohio; George A. Gates, also from Topsham, president of Iowa College, Pomona College and Fiske University; Ebenezer B. Williston from Tunbridge, president of Jefferson Military College; John Van Ness Standish from Woodstock, president of Lombard College for forty years; Ozora S. Davis from Wheelock, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary and moderator of the National Council.

Vocational Education in Vermont (By Stanley J. Steward, State Supervisor)—Vocational education in Vermont dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century. Art instruction was given in the city of Barre, in Goddard Seminary and Spaulding High long before 1900, but with the development of the local granite industry, special needs for art instruction developed. To meet these conditions skilled artisans gathered about them pupils and apprentices and imparted the knowledge they had gained in the art schools, studios and workshops of their home lands.

Alexander Buchun, of Aberdeen, Scotland, was one of the first to teach. L. S. Gates conducted a private class, William Duff, certified art-master, of South Kensington Art-Academy (London), conducted a private school, but it would seem that the school started in the Italian colony was the real beginning, leading to the establishment of the present evening drawing school. This school was conducted by A. Dunghi and Raffaele Clerici up to 1902. The work was carried on in various ways until the city voted public funds in 1911. The detailed plans for the present school were made by Mr. Charles Pamperle, a graduate of the Zurich, Switzerland, Art Industrial School. Mr. O. D. Mathewson was then superintendent of schools and the school was located in two rooms of the basement of the school which was named for him. This school became a Federally aided school under the Smith-Hughes plan in September, 1924. Mr. Carlo Abate, an Italian sculptor, has been associated with Mr. Pamperle since the school was started.

The Springfield Coöperative part-time school was organized in

1913 as a part of the public high school and in conjunction with the machine industries in the town. The first director was Mr. John G. Brueggeman from the University of Cincinnati. The first class graduated in June, 1916, and every boy had a job booked long before graduation, into which he immediately stepped at wages from $13 to $16.50 per week. Mr. John M. Pierce has been the director for a number of years, assisted by a number of the teachers of the high school who devote part of their time to vocational classes. This school became a part of the Smith-Hughes plan in September, 1918.

The St. Johnsbury Vocational School was organized in September, 1918, by Stanley J. Steward, a graduate of the University of Maine, a mechanical engineer, with many years of industrial and teaching experience. The school was a unit of the E. & T. Fairbanks and Company scale plant, under the supervision of the public school system and a part of the Smith-Hughes plan.

In January, 1924, Mr. Steward was appointed State Supervisor of Instruction in Trades and Industries and Mr. G. Maynard Trafton, who was then an instructor in the St. Johnsbury school, was made director. He is assisted by Mr. James B. Reed and Miss Ida Brownell.

There are various trades taught, such as wood pattern making, metal pattern making, foundry (brass and iron), machine tool making, painting, millwright, chemical engineering, electrical engineering and drafting and many special jobs peculiar to the scale industry. A graduate of the school is foreman of the machine tool department.

The Barre Vocational School was started in September, 1927, with Mr. John E. Nelson as Supervising Instructor. Mr. Nelson is a graduate of Cornell University, a mechanical engineer, was in Department of Aeronautics during World War, was an instructor in St. Johnsbury Vocational School, 1919 to 1923, and at Springfield Coöperative Part Time School, 1923 to 1927.

This school was the result of the activities of the Apprentice Commission of the American Granite Producers' Association, through its secretary, Mr. Harry Sherman of Boston, Mr. G. A. McGarvey, Regional Agent, for The Federal Board for Vocational Education, the State Department for Vocational Education and the city of Barre. These agencies began their activities in the fall of 1925, and extensive studies and plans were made in preparation for the final opening of the school. It has been very successful and is the only school of its kind giving instruction in the granite industry in the United States.

The Smith-Hughes Act of Congress became a law February 23, 1917. Vermont accepted the provisions of the Act soon after. She was one of eight States that were already giving vocational training.

Mr. Leon Beach was the first State Supervisor of Instruction for Trades and Industries. He resigned after one year. Vermont was without a supervisor from that time until January, 1924, and as a result failed to receive Federal funds for 1922 and 1923. All schools were continued, however, on local funds.

The passage of the Smith-Hughes Act was the result of activities by the American Federation of Labor, Charles H. Winslow, secretary of The National Society for The Promotion of Industrial Education, and Carroll S. Page, Senator from Vermont, who was appointed a committee of one, by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, to correspond with various interests and make a thorough study of the subject. He made a very complete report. Various bills were introduced and finally the Senate passed a Vocational Trade Training Bill, introduced by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia and a companion bill was favorably reported in the House by Representative Hughes of Georgia. Action was prevented by Representative Mann of Illinois, but the measure finally went to conference and was agreed to by the House and Senate on February 16, 1917. President Wilson signed the Bill February 23, 1917.

It will be seen that Vermont was early in the forefront in giving vocational education, and that through Senator Page, Vermont had much to do with the passage of the Act, providing government aid for such education in all the United States.

Old Time Oratory in District School—The reference in the earlier part of this chapter to the little red schoolhouse and the district school suggested to the writer that a story which takes one back to those "good old days" would be fitting and much appreciated by the readers. The sketch is written by a native of this hill town in Caledonia County, Principal O. D. Mathewson, and the member of the "deestrict prudential committee," Erastus Fairbanks, was later twice Governor of Vermont. Mr. Mathewson's story follows:

Sally Wakefield was the mistress in district No. 4 in Wheelock, in 1817, and being a progressive teacher decided to have all the boys and girls in the English Reader speak pieces from it every other Friday afternoon. The proposal met with strenuous objection from some of the oldest boys and girls.

Ben Slyfield and Dodge Phillips declared they wouldn't speak.

Some of the boys and two of the girls, Mary Harris and Sally Glidden, dared them to carry out their threat. "Ben Slyfield, you dasn't," said pretty Mary, "the teacher'd trim you to a finish."

Both Ben and Dodge knew from personal experience what that meant. They knew, too, that when Miss Wakefield said a thing was to be done she saw that it was done. So, after much blustering talk, they decided to take part, determined, however, that their selection would be short as possible. Great was their surprise the next day when Miss Wakefield assigned the selections that would be given on Friday afternoon of the next week.

All the boys and girls looked forward to it; those who were not to speak with keen interest, those who were to speak with sickening dread.

Right after recess the teacher showed the speakers which crack in the floor to stand on, and taking her seat in the back of the room called upon Mary Harris to recite her piece. Mary walked gingerly to the floor, and, taking her place on the crack assigned, smoothed out the wrinkles in her apron and began to recite Pome's "Universal Prayer."

"I hope you will always remember that, Mary," said the teacher, as Mary took her seat.

The next speaker was Zenas Hayward, who gave in solemn tones a selection from Blair beginning, "In the days of Joram, King of Israel, flourished the prophet Elisha."

The next was a dialogue given by three of the boys, John Barber, David Elkins, Jacob Phillips, representing Dionysius, Pythias, and Damon. The subject of the dialogue was "Genuine Virtue Commands Respect even from the Bad." The chief interest in this dialogue was the awkwardness of the boys rather than in its subject matter.

As Samantha Silver was next announced, she gave a selection from Young, beginning "Be wise today; 'tis madness to defer." Although Samantha had studied this piece diligently, she made many queer mistakes in pronunciation and failed so completely when she came to the word "magnanimity" that Miss Wakefield said in a kindly manner, "You'd better study it some more, Samantha, and let me help you with the big words. You can speak next time."

Everybody was waiting to see what would happen when Ben Slyfield was called. So when the teacher said next would be a selection from "The Speech of Adherbal to the Roman Senate," by Ben Slyfield, there was a deathlike stillness in the room. Ben had said all along that he'd skip out and when he began, "Whither—oh!



DRAWING OF BURLINGTON'S NEW MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM

(Frank Lyman Austin, Architect)

whither shall I fly," there was an audible snicker in the back row, but Ben didn't skip. He kept bravely on until he said in conclusion, "Fathers! Senators of Rome to you I fly." Here memory failed and Ben fled sheepishly to his seat much chagrined.

There were poetic selections, both of a didactic nature, by two of the younger girls, Nancy Willard and Sally Evans.

Right in the midst of the exercises all were greatly surprised by a knock at the door. Miss Wakefield asked one of the children on the front bench to let the caller in. To the amazement of all Erastus Fairbanks stepped in, and seeing the situation at a glance asked Miss Wakefield to continue her exercises. She called upon Ichabod Coffin, who walked awkwardly onto the floor and began thus:

> O, for a lodge in some vast wilderness
> Some boundless contiguity of shade.

He droned on in a monotone for a page and a half and took his seat. Mr. Fairbanks seemed relieved.

Dodge Phillips was announced as the last speaker. Dodge was somewhat inclined to be pompous in appearance, if not in feeling, and so walked with an air of importance to the appointed place in the floor and began:

"I am monarch of all I survey." He blushed to the roots of his hair and said again, "I am monarch of all I survey." His blush deepened and it was easy to see that he was stage struck, but he held his post bravely and said the third time, "I am monarch of all I survey," then hesitated.

"Take another look, Dodge, and go ahead," said Erastus. This broke the spell and Jerry finished Cowper's "Alexander Selkirk" without further hesitation.

Miss Wakefield called upon Mr. Fairbanks to say a few words to the school. He arose slowly saying that he was not expecting to be called upon but that he felt it an opportunity to impress upon the boys and girls the great value of public speaking. He said that the purpose of his visit was to confer with Miss Wakefield concerning the books in use as he had just been elected one of a committee "to visit the schools in this town and recommend such books as will be most consistent." And so while Miss Wakefield and Mr. Fairbanks went into executive session over the school-book question, Mary Harris wrote on her slate and held it up where all could see it, "Why don't you skip, Ben, why don't you skip?"

HIGH SCHOOLS AND ADVANCED INSTRUCTION—(1927-1928)

TOWNS	High schools maintained during past year.	Total number of students in high school.	How many of these were residents of the town?	How many of these were residents of other towns in State?	How many of these were not residents of Vermont?	No. advanced students whose tuitions were paid by town attended H. S. of an I. D. or an Academy in town.	No. advanced students whose tuitions were paid by town attended H. S. or academies located in other towns of State.	No. advanced students whose tuitions were paid by town attended H. S. or academies not located in Vermont.	No. advanced students who paid their own tuitions.	Total number of advanced students in town.	Estimated annual expense for maintenance of H. S.
County Totals											
Addison County	5	592	377	213	2	29	267	11	2	686	$54,021.01
Bennington County	4	381	290	91		105	80	40	1	516	36,220.00
Caledonia County	19	298	239	58	1	455	187	44	7	932	10,253.00
Chittenden County	11	1,710	1,469	234	7	30	173	1	12	1,685	57,195.00
Essex County	4	153	124	10	19		17	65	1	207	11,150.00
Franklin County	10	759	597	159	3	61	166	2	7	833	73,921.00
Grand Isle County							51			51	
Lamoille County	5	445	393	52			50	3		446	50,000.00
Orange County	6	510	354	145	11	83	192	18	7	654	48,775.00
Orleans County	9	691	513	177	1	25	137	1	1	677	69,110.00
Rutland County	11	1,538	1,234	300	4	205	258	22	6	1,725	142,854.08
Washington County	9	1,462	1,093	368	1	49	353	2		1,497	137,906.42
Windham County	6	990	759	180	51	35	207	8	3	1,012	113,620.00
Windsor County	9	1,489	1,095	373	21	38	269	63	10	1,475	148,307.26
Total	108	11,018	8,537	2,360	121	1,115	2,407	280	57	12,396	$953,332.77

RECEIPTS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR
1927-1928—Continued
COUNTY TOTALS

COUNTIES	Total valuation of all school property	Total bonded indebtedness for school property	Grand List	Received from taxes for school purposes	Received from state
County Totals					
Addison County	$371,450.00	$35,500.00	$155,772.33	$196,362.94	$39,211.22
Bennington County	631,650.00	50,100.00	162,024.09	225,236.75	25,119.57
Caledonia County	609,760.00	2,000.00	196,729.22	281,537.49	37,398.38
Chittenden County	1,589,275.00	646,500.00	409,444.68	478,927.58	45,407.80
Essex County	117,725.00		61,341.19	75,988.34	14,119.27
Franklin County	683,500.00	67,403.00	197,391.06	262,372.12	44,123.05
Grand Isle County	72,200.00		20,703.70	30,666.31	8,265.76
Lamoille County	362,000.00	5,000.00	75,287.96	126,407.97	26,335.23
Orange County	579,900.00	7,200.00	127,845.29	197,512.25	41,751.43
Orleans County	635,325.00	162,000.00	168,161.11	257,086.61	43,769.43
Rutland County	1,262,500.00	724,188.06	350,951.80	523,297.28	56,329.10
Washington County	1,001,575.00	222,500.00	325,805.43	451,282.84	51,074.44
Windham County	1,078,974.00	328.000.00	284,397.04	351,315.08	38,468.03
Windsor County	1,542,850.00	134,929.30	349,852.71	510,666.66	52,634.42
Total	$10,538,684.00	$2,385,320.36	$2,885,707.61	$3,968,660.22	$524,007.13

RECEIPTS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR
1927-1928—Continued
COUNTY TOTALS—Continued

COUNTIES	Tuitions from other towns and districts	Revenue from school lands	Bequests	All other sources not including borrowed money	Total of all receipts
County Totals					
Addison County	$18,350.06	$1,247.73	$99.70	$3,072.03	$258,343.68
Bennington County	9,000.74	650.31	301.00	5,928.32	266,236.69
Caledonia County	6,624.08	646.29		2,308.67	328,514.91
Chittenden County	19,805.75	1,302.04	5.00	2,859.93	548,308.10
Essex County	3,207.50	191.77	50.00	1,011.63	94,568.51
Franklin County	12,574.62	986.33	85.68	8,997.26	329,139.06
Grand Isle County	94.25	127.50			39,153.82
Lamoille County	3,073.09	483.65		437.53	156,737.47
Orange County	11,601.17	1,204.01	100.00	5,291.58	257,460.44
Orleans County	11,588.90	2,081.81	480.73	3,532.58	318,540.06
Rutland County	28,510.74	1,274.66	274.08	12,001.39	621,687.25
Washington County	24,561.31	1,916.17	12.56	4,722.28	533,569.60
Windham County	20,497.60	639.70	1,214.56	4,751.54	416,886.51
Windsor County	27,476.72	1,430.26		10,990.71	603,198.77
Total	$196,966.53	$14,182.23	$2,623.31	$65,905.45	$4,772,344.87

MISCELLANEOUS—(1927-1928)

COUNTIES	Total number of public schools	Average number days of such public schools as were maintained 34 weeks or more each	Number elementary school teachers not previously employed in State during year			Number high school teachers not previously employed in State during year			TRANSPORTATION		
			Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	No. pupils furnished one conveyance term only	No. pupils furnished two conveyance terms only.	No. pupils furnished three conveyance terms.
County Totals											
Addison County	142	167	2	139	141	7	25	32	60	37	346
Bennington County	91	170	10	125	135	6	18	24	59	20	168
Caledonia County	187	165	10	194	204	5	9	14	61	30	269
Chittenden County	193	166	2	194	196	28	55	83	53	83	479
Essex County	49	166	3	51	54	4	8	12	26	25	120
Franklin County	179	164	1	184	185	14	33	47	132	63	511
Grand Isle County	28	161		28	28				9	48	136
Lamoille County	94	164	10	85	95	8	15	23	32	27	271
Orange County	145	166	6	153	159	11	15	26	58	48	400
Orleans County	178	164	6	174	180	15	31	46	57	75	432
Rutland County	260	169	8	280	288	25	53	78	88	120	476
Washington County	229	165	3	232	235	19	45	64	76	88	507
Windham County	166	167	7	167	174	10	32	42	53	60	373
Windsor County	264	165	17	270	287	22	44	66	144	75	581
Total	2,205	166	85	2,276	2,361	174	383	557	908	799	5,069

CHAPTER XXIII

EARLY INDUSTRIES AND INVENTORS

You ask what manufactures would thrive best in Vermont. I am persuaded the difficulty would be to point out the manufacturing that would not flourish in it.

—A reply made in 1796 to the Duke of Portland by IRA ALLEN.

Windsor, Vermont, (small and secluded as it is) has contributed signally to tool building throughout this country and Europe.

—PROF. JOSEPH W. ROE in "English and American Tool Builders."

The great trek of settlers to Vermont came after Massachusetts was a hundred years old with a population of more than 300,000 souls. There had been a few pioneers in the north land before 1760, but this year, marking the cessation of hostilities with the French of Canada, made safe a region which had been the highways of war parties. Within three decades, beginning with 1760, Vermont had a population of 85,425 and another ten years added nearly 70,000; the following decade brought an increase of more than 63,000, so that after but half a century of development, the State had a population (1810), of 217,895, a large number for that day. These settlers came, primarily, because they were interested in the possibilities of agriculture in the region, although the products of the forest and trade with Canada and the sections from which they came, interested many. It can be said without boasting, that the pioneers were a choice people. They were of English and Scotch descent, enterprising, adventuresome and bold, else they would not have left the older settled regions to test fortune in new and distant land—when the hardships and lack of transportation facilities are considered. They were children of folk far separated from the mother country, who by their ingenuity, industry and courage had been able, not only to maintain themselves, but had done so in the face of opposition and eventual attempts at repression by their former countrymen.

The ancient "mercantile system," of England, under which the American colonies were exploited, was a policy whereby the growth of a colony was fostered only as a source of supply of raw materials and farm products for the mother nation. A restraint was placed upon all attempts at the manufacture of anything abroad. The colony must purchase foreign-made goods and thereby build up the

wealth and power of the founding nation. It was this repressive policy which held in check the industrial development of the American colonies and became one of the causes of the Revolution. It was this attempted restraint upon the manufacturing instincts and former training of our forefathers which engendered the ingenuity and inventive genius of the New Englanders from whom came the pioneers of Vermont. The double disadvantage of being unable to get tools, machinery and industrial secrets from overseas, and the difficulty of transporting any but the simplest of instruments from their home towns forced the early settlers of the State to work out ways and means of making what they needed. The very difficulties under which they labored brought out the best that was within them, and was one of the reasons why Vermont became a reservoir of inventions, of progressive methods of manufacture, of ideas and ways of doing things which have been adopted far beyond the bounds of the State.

Grist and Saw Mills—The first settlers were intent upon cultivating the land, and they came with their meagre but treasured possessions by river and by former Indian trails. Trees were felled, a shelter constructed, and between the tree stumps of the cleared land corn was planted, for this was the chief article of food. One of the first mechanical devices made by a pioneer was apt to be a plumping mill. A hardwood stump was hollowed out and a stone attached to a living sapling was hung over the shallow depression. Corn placed in the stump was pounded into the material for Johnny-cake. This was both a slow and wasteful method of handling grain, and was displaced by a community grist-mill as soon as was possible. These grist mills, located where there were water-power sites were the bases of the first industry; the sawmill was a close second. Thus the two greatest natural resources of Vermont, its water-powers and forests laid the foundations of its first manufacturing industries. To encourage the building of mills, a bounty of forty dollars or more frequently was offered to a miller, or woodsawyer. Sites were given, or areas of land presented, to insure the construction of a mill. The proprietors of Arlington "Voted to give fifty acres to anyone who would set up a grist mill. . . Remember Baker built a grist and sawmill, accepting this offer." (Hemenway.) Similar quotations could be taken from the early history of a hundred towns. There is nothing novel about the gift, under the auspices of a present-day Chamber of Commerce or other business organizations, of a site or bounty to lure the wary manufacturer to locate.

CITY HALL, ST. ALBANS

The sawmills required rather more power than was needed to drive a corn mill, and were, therefore fewer in the early days. It was both difficult and expensive to get and transport equipment, especially the great crank which was required. A sawmill, built in Newbury, in 1764, had its one hundred and seventy-five pound crank hauled all the way from Concord, New Hampshire. The work was done in the winter by the settlers who nearly perished from exposure. The crank did service for more than twenty years in the first sawmill and lasted until 1871, when the last survivor of the ancient "up and down" sawmill passed out. Some idea of the number of the early water-driven mills in the State may be realized from the fact that upon the not so large Black River there were at one time forty-three dams and mills. The lumber produced was for local consumption, at first, it being well on into the last century before a heavy export trade was developed. A forest bi-product, potash-pearl or potash, valuable for the making of soap, glass, and other things, used much of the standing timber. The potash was derived from wood ashes, made while clearing land, or often areas of the hard-wood forest would be chopped down and burned for the ashes. The pearl and pot-ashes were often the first and only "money crop" of the farm upon which they were made. More often, after the first few years, the potash was made by a local "ashery" instead of the farmer, so that a third manufacturing industry was created in pioneer days. The wooden implements, dishes, furniture, tubs, etc., were originally of home manufacture, but soon went into factory production. Pails and tubs were in great demand in connection with the maple sap harvest, as were the great kettles in which the sugar and syrup were made.

It is somewhat surprising to read that Matthew Lyon, in 1796, "operated . . . a paper mill . . . and a printing office, printing on paper which he made from basswood bark." This was long before making paper from wood pulp was a commercial success.

Iron Industries—To make stave pails and tubs, iron bands were needed. The wooden plow, still in use, was bettered by an iron facing. Potash and sap kettles had to be sought for at far places, some being brought from the ancient forges near Three Rivers, Canada. There were a thousand demands for iron, and the pioneers searched carefully for bodies of bog-iron in the regions they settled. Iron was found in several places and a number of early Vermont towns smelted and forged this metal. Matthew Lyon built a dam at the Falls of Fair Haven and set up a large iron plant in 1785,

and asked the General Assembly "to lay a duty of two pence per pound on nails to enable him to build his works and supply the State." Before the end of the century (1796) Lyon was running a furnace; two forges, a slitting mill for making iron rods, besides grist, paper and saw mills. Matthew Lyon was a most remarkable man and notable for many things wholly unconnected with industry.

Ira Allen, after the Revolution, constructed a dam, built two saw-mills, a grist-mill, a furnace and two forges in the Winooski region. There was an experimental furnace at Tinmouth before 1783, and others at Middletown and Vergennes not much later. The "Vermont Gazette" in 1789 stated that a forge was being erected at Bennington, two forges in Wallingford, a forge and slitting mill at Fair Haven where nails were being manufactured, and a furnace in the process of erection. The same paper reported in June, 1790, certain Quebec restrictions on the importation of pig iron from across the border requiring that each pig must bear in legible letters the word Vermont. One of the earliest blast furnaces was built at Sheldon in 1799; another was set up that same year at Swanton. Of the Sheldon furnace it is recorded: "More than a hundred men were employed in getting out ore. On account of the good business done, iron was long called 'Sheldon currency'."

Much of the first iron made was turned out in the pig, or cast to form the great kettle of the pioneer and the small, hollow ware and stoves in small numbers, trip hammers and anvils which were often used on the spot. But bar iron was soon a product, and nails and some of the simpler tools and implements. The axe and hoe and the scythe were in great demand, made by a blacksmith who was one of the most desirable citizens and the manipulator of the raw metal. The iron business did not last long although it continued to the middle of the nineteenth century, when coal was substituted for charcoal and large deposits of ore had been opened in other States. Vermont had twenty-six furnaces and fourteen forges, in 1840, which turned out 6,743 tons of cast iron and 655 tons of wrought iron, while in 1810 there were ten furnaces which had produced 1,346 tons of iron, and twenty-six forges whose production was 921 tons of refined iron. Besides this, in the latter mentioned year, there were sixty-seven nail factories and sixty-five trip hammers, the value of the iron industries of the State totalling $348,744.

Pioneer Quarries—Although the presence of valuable geological formations became known early there were but few uses made of the granites, the marbles and the stone of the hills until well after

Vermont had become a State. A stone quarry was opened on Isle La Motte soon after the end of the Revolution and there are records of native granite mill stones being used in the Grand Isle section before 1796. Isaac Underhill opened the Dorset quarry in 1785; it is said "that people came one hundred miles to Dorset to secure hearths, chimney stones and lintels for their fireplaces. The manufacture of marble headstones began here in 1808." A marble quarry of Middlebury, opened in 1803, claims to have been the first to do extensive marble manufacturing, and to have had the first machine for sawing marble in the State. The first marble mill is usually credited to Swanton, erected in 1812. The marble industry on a large scale has come to the fore only within the last sixty years.

Limestone was utilized by the early settlers particularly in the northern part of Vermont. Slate was often used as back stones of chimneys and fireplaces, and for hearths as well. Brick making was another of the early industries. "In 1811 a charter was granted by the Legislature of the State for the manufacture of glass—on the western shore of Lake Dunmore. About forty operators were employed in this factory for several years."

Textiles—So far only those industries have been considered which drew their material from the raw resources of the hills, but there were others of the farm and the home, utilizing the crops of the soil and the products of farm animals. The pioneers must make their own clothes and footgear and hats. Sheep were imported, cattle came with the first comers. The women prided themselves on their homespuns; there was a spinning wheel in every home. The flax was grown on the farm; wool was derived from the flocks. Later, cotton was brought from the South. Cloth was dyed with decoctions of barks and roots, indigo was used for coloring "linsey woolsey" when it could be afforded. All the work was done by hand. The hides of wild and tame animals were made into shoes. The shoemaker was as valued a citizen of the town as the blacksmith or wheelwright. He worked at his home, or traveled from hamlet to hamlet. When he began to gather one or two helpers and set up a shop, the term "shoe-factory" came into use, but boots and shoes were still hand-made. Hemlock was plentiful all over the State so that the tannery came into prominence early and the numbers of them increased rapidly.

Out of these hand industries came machine manufacturing—carding mills for putting the wool in shape for weaving, fulling mills to improve the quality of the woven cloth. Looms were in-

vented rather early. Bennington had a "woolen mill" prior to the Revolution, a fulling mill sometime previous in 1781, an underwear factory in 1802, and a cotton mill by 1811. One of the original settlers of Bennington claimed that in 1788 the people of the town "by actual return, made twenty-six thousand yards of cloth from their own raising." Other towns, although not so early, developed textile industries, for carding, fulling and cloth mills became numerous before the beginning of the nineteenth century and increased rapidly with the beginning of a new century. The introduction of cotton mills spelled the end of the use and growing of linen fibre, and 1810 may be taken as the date of the beginning of the rise of cotton manufacturing, and the wane of linen cloth. A cotton mill, built at Montpelier in 1810, was one of the first fifty to be erected in the United States. The War of 1812, revealing as it did the dependence of this country on foreign lands for so many things that it needed, greatly stimulated the manufacturing industries.

The two tables which follow indicate what progress had been made during the first half century of the larger settlements of Vermont. It is well to remember how completely manual labor entered into the so-called manufacturing prior to 1810, particularly when noting the very considerable amounts of textiles reported in the first table, which may be labeled:

I. A Report made to the Vermont Assembly in 1809 by Committees from every County.

COUNTIES	Cotton & Linen No. Yards	Woolen No. Yards.	Clothiers Works.	Carding Machines.	Fur- naces.	Forges.
Bennington	84,100	62,900	11	9	1	3
Windham	120,000	100,000	24	16		
Rutland	170,200	143,040	26	18	3	6
Windsor	269,090	134,045	34	25		
Addison	127,600	107,200	15	13	2	15
Orange	177,000	177,000	19	19		
Chittenden	128,000	110,000	8	8		
Caledonia	135,000	110,000	12	10		
Franklin	32,600	40,000	7	10	2	2
Orleans	33,000	30,000	4	4		
Essex & G. Isle	28,960	27,860	3	3		
Amount	1,315,550	1,042,945	163	135	8	26

II. An Abstract of manufactures in Vermont according to returns in 1840.

26 Furnaces, making 6743 tons cast iron.
14 Forges, making 655 tons wrought iron.
Other metals, valued at $70,500.



FEDERAL BUILDING, ST. ALBANS

Granite, marble, etc., $33,880.
17 Paper Mills, making $214,720 value.
96 Woolen factories, 239 Fulling mills, } $1,331,953 value.
Silk, 39 pounds, $99 value.
7 Cotton factories, 7254 spindles, manufacturing $113,000 value.
Mixed manufactures, $155,276 value.
Hats, valued $62,432.
261 Tanneries { 122,763 sides sole leather. 102,737 sides upper leather.
Maple Sugar, 4,647,934 pounds.
1 Brewery, making 12,800 gallons.
2 Distilleries, making 3,500 gallons.
2 Glass Houses, $55,000 value.
8 Potteries, $23,000 value.
Potash, 718½ tons.
Soap, $50,300 value.
Candles, $28,687 value.
Carriages, $162,097 value.
7 Flouring Mills—barrels of flour 4,495.
312 Grist mills, 1081 Saw mills, 20 Oil Mills, } $1,083,124 value manufactured.
29 Printing offices,—Binderies, 14.
2 Rope Walks, $4,000 value man'd.
Music instruments, $2,290 value man'd.

Home made goods,	$674,548
Machinery made,	101,354
Hardware,	16,650
Small Arms,	1,156
Precious metals,	3,000
Granite and marble,	62,515
Bricks and lime,	402,218
Value of vessels built,	72,000
Furniture manufactured,	83,275
Houses, 72 brick, 468 wood, cost,	344,896
Medicines, drugs and dyes,	38,475
Other manufactures,	488,796

For the purpose of comparison, we introduce the following abstract of manufactures in Vermont, copied from the returns in 1810:

8 Blast furnaces, 986 tons iron @ $100,	$97,600
2 Air furnaces, 260 tons pig @ $90,	23,400
26 Forges, 817 tons crude @ $120,	98,040
26 Forges, 104 tons refined @ $150,	15,600
67 Cut nail factories, 144 tons nails @ $240,	34,560
65 Trip hammers—value of the work done,	78,574
11 Paper mills—23,350 r'ms, @ $3 per r'm,	70,050
26 Oil mills—50,637 gallons, @ $1 pr. gal.,	50,637
125 Distilleries, 173, 285 do, @ 75 cts.,	129,964

205	Tanneries—773 tons leather, @ $500,	$386,500
166	Fulling-mills dressed 942,960 yds. @ 25 cts.,	235,740
139	Carding machn's, 798,500 lbs wool, @ $.06,	47,910
	Woolen cloth—1,207,976 yds. @ 75 cents,	905,982
	Cotton cloth—131,326 yards, @ 30 cents,	39,397
	Linen Cloth—1,859,931 yards, @ 35 cents,	605,976
	Mixed cloth—191,426 yards, @ 38 cents,	72,471
	14,801 looms, weave 240 yards each,	8,276,179
	67,756 spinning wheels, spin 75 skeins each,	189,716
	23 jennies, equal 844 spindles, each @ $2	1,688
	96,760 hats at $2.	193,520
	65,580 pairs boots, at $3,	196,740
	138,700 pair shoes, at 75 cents,	179,025
	Saddles and Harnesses, amount of value,	127,840
	Cabinet work, amount of value,	118,450
	Maple sugar, 1,200,000 lbs. at 10 cts. lb.,	120,000
	Potashes, 1500 tons at $100 pr. ton,	150,000

The year 1810 can fairly be considered as one in which the early manufactures reached their zenith from which they fell to lower marks over nearly thirty years.

From 1810 to 1840—The total value of products reported in 1810 totalled $5,053,414; in 1820 there were credited only as $890,353, and in 1830 amounted to $1,507,779. Why the volume of business was so reduced,—who can explain? Too much war, perhaps, too great a centering of attention on agriculture; the development of "factory towns" in other of the New England States which drew heavily upon the potential mill-hand population of Vermont. It was not the machine age, which came later; inventions were many and Vermonters were notable for the number they patented, but these had yet to enter factory production of a wide scale. Transportation was very bad, although the building of the Champlain Canal helped greatly. Railroading occupied the minds of capitalists and others, but a railroad had yet to be constructed. Whatever the reasons, the industries of Vermont flagged for more than a quarter century. It is all very well to read in "Niles' Register" of 1825 that "the manufacture of iron and of wool, together with the raising of sheep, are doing great things for Vermont. . . . This mountain region is one of the most prosperous in the United States,": and again in this same publication of August, 1826, that "The manufactures of the Green Mountains have risen almost to the level of those of Europe." Actually there were only about one hundred manufacturing concerns in the State, and the most of these were small.

By 1840 the slump was over and Vermont manufactures had

reached a value of $6,923,982. To quote W. H. Crockett's summary of the statistics of that year, as given in his "Vermont":

> There were 334 factories engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods, of which 239 were fulling mills, the others being woolen factories, and the value of their product was $1,331,953. The capital invested was $1,406,950 and the average number of wage earners was 1,450. The seven cotton mills reported 7,254 spindles, employed 241 workmen, and manufactured goods valued at $113,000. The capital invested was $202,500. There were in the State 261 tanneries; 17 paper mills, the product being valued at $214,720; 321 grist mills, 1,081 sawmills and 20 oil mills, the combined value of their output being $1,083,-124; 26 furnaces and 14 forges, producing pig iron valued at $42,575, and iron castings worth $24,900; eight potteries, producing goods valued at $23,000; two glass factories with an output amounting to $55,000; furniture valued at $83,275; one brewery making 12,800 gallons; two distilleries, making 3,500 gallons; carriages worth $162,097; granite and marble products valued at $62,515; machinery, worth $101,354; bricks and lime valued at $402,218.

Since 1840 there has been a steady increase in the value produced by the factory industries of the State with the exception of 1880; but the story of the later history of the industries of Vermont may be relegated to other chapters.

Windsor's Mechanical Leadership—It would be easy to relate the tale of the "middle ages" of Vermont's industries in terms that are general and statistics which are accessible and numerous. It may be more enlightening, and possibly more interesting, to leave the general and turn to the particular by telling something about the rise and growth of a village whose contributions to industrial life have reached far beyond the borders of the State, and whose history is somewhat illustrative of the industrial development of many other Vermont villages during the first half of the last century, a period remarkable for the number of outstanding Vermont mechanics, inventors and manufacturers. Windsor, now a village of not more than 3,700 people, was so remarkable in the influence which it, and some of its sons and residents, had upon the early mechanic arts that some tribute should be paid to this place. Joseph Wickham Roe, one of the leading industrial historians and mechanical engineer, said. . . . "but few plants have had so great an influence upon American manufacturing," and in his history of "English and American Tool Builders" devotes one-eighth of that work to the mechanical developments issuing from Windsor. No originality is claimed for the paragraphs which follow; they are but a résumé of a paper read before the Vermont Historical Society at Windsor, September 4, 1922, by Guy Hubbard, himself a notable engineer. It is

to be regretted that so brilliant and important a paper never has received a wider circulation.

Windsor's First Industries—It would be rather difficult to find other than a single natural reason for Windsor's early prominence in the mechanical world. It was isolated, lacking transportation, tucked away in one of the pleasant vales of the Connecticut River. It played an important rôle in the political development of the State, but industrially it was no more suited for industrial purposes than a hundred other sites. It is true that it had several streams with water-powers, but so had many other places. Mill Creek, plainly visible from the Connecticut, had a fall of sixty feet within a third of a mile, and it may have been for this reason that Steele Smith—was the name symbolic or prophetic?—the first settler determined to make it his home. Steele came in August, 1764, but the town had been incorporated on July 6, 1761, and in 1763 Israel Curtis had been granted fifty acres adjoining Mill Brook, and one hundred English pounds under the agreement that he should "build a sawmill in said town of Windsor by the first day of August, 1764, and to build a grist-mill as soon as there were twenty inhabitants that shall raise an acre of grain apiece in said town." Israel Curtis was a little late with the log dam and sawmill which he put up at the upper part of the falls. Before 1769, however, he had a grist-mill at the lower fall. Around these before many years clustered a blacksmith shop, a wheelwright's shop no doubt, a carding mill and a distillery, forming a typical hamlet of that day. It was about the two small falls that mechanical history was to be made during the next century and a half.

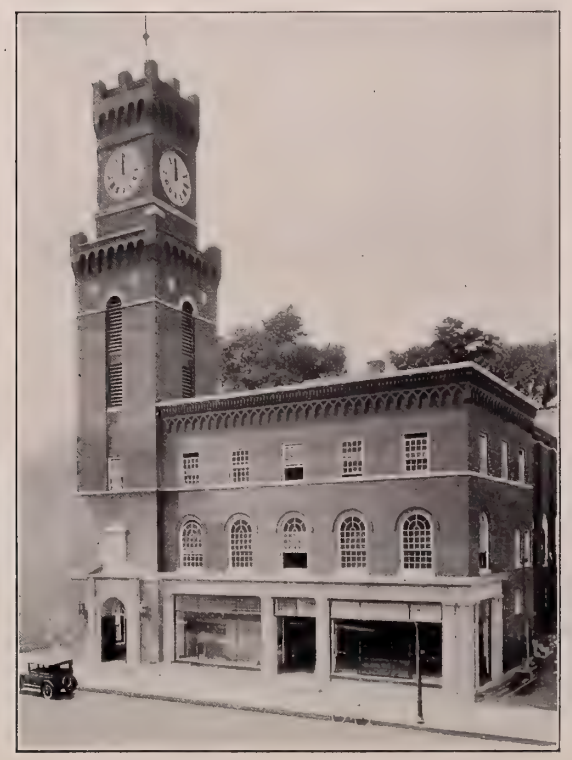
It was wool that started Windsor off on its industrial career. England's restraining policies as regards commerce and manufacturing in her colonies aroused the American colonies to rebellion, for the Revolution might well be termed a war for industrial freedom. Then the War of 1812 made it clear that America must be self-dependent if it hoped to survive. This war gave a great impetus to manufacturing and inspired the expansion of the textile industries in New England which made her the marvel of the world for a time. Merino sheep had been introduced into Vermont in 1810 by William Jarvis, Esq., of Weathersfield, who was American Consul at Lisbon at this time. The sheep throve, but the long fibers of their wool required improvement in the carding machinery to handle them. The little carding mill by Mill Brook, in Windsor, was converted into an improved and large textile mill with specially designed machinery.



BELLOWS FALLS HIGH SCHOOL



THE ARMORY, BELLOWS FALLS



THE NEW TOWN HALL, BELLOWS FALLS



THE ROCKINGHAM FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY,
BELLOWS FALLS

The end of the War of 1812 and the prompt swamping of the American market with imported goods, wrought havoc with the home industries. In 1818 the Windsor textile mill went out of business with the failure of the Essex Merino Association which had financed it.

Lemuel Hedge—As the textile industry was taking its place among the forgotten, one of the first of Windsor's native-born eminent mechanics and inventors had patented a process for ruling blank books, the "Spring Pen Ruler," June 21, 1815, and on March 3, 1817, a "Revolving Ruling Machine." This was Lemuel Hedge, son of Solomon Hedge, one of the first of Windsor's remarkable blacksmiths. Lemuel served his time at the smithy, but was more interested in cabinet work and the making of machinery which, at that time, meant working in wood rather than in metal. He also hung about the printery of one Thomas Pomroy and observed how tedious was the manner of ruling paper by hand. His endeavors to find a better method resulted in the patents mentioned on the two machines which were capable of ruling a ream of ledger paper on both sides in twelve minutes. The inventor and the printer went into partnership as Pomroy and Hedge, and fitted up Pomroy's place in the wooden "Tontine Block" to turn out the ruling machines in quantity. This plant was burned soon after, and Hedge traveled through the South and West trying to recoup his fallen fortunes by selling State rights to manufacture his machines. These two devices, probably the first inventions patented by Windsorites, are the basis of all modern ruling machines, and Hedge's sales of the rights all over the country spread the use of the machines widely but with little advantage to the inventor.

In 1827, Hedge patented an "Engine for Dividing Scales" which Bishop says is one of the most notable inventions of that year. It was an instrument for the speedy and accurate automatic numbering and marking mechanic's scales and "was of National importance in the development of the machine industry, for by quantity production of cheap and accurate scales it unified the linear measurement system of the country, which made possible the Interchangeable or American System of manufacture as we know it today." Hedge built these machines in Windsor for a time, but was compelled by a lack of means to go to Brattleboro where he spent ten years with Stearns & Company perfecting his devices and making them on a large scale. After some years, and changes of ownership, this Stearns' concern became the progenitor of the Stanley Rule and Level Company at New Britain, Connecticut, and of that tremen-

dous business known today as the Stanley Works. "One of the original Hedge Dividing Engines is still in use at this plant for dividing expensive ivory scales." Lemuel Hedge was the inventor of the very common, but very handy, two-foot folding rule. In 1849 he invented the "band saw" which is used today all over the world in exactly the form in which he turned out the first and set it to work in the Robbins and Lawrence car shop in Windsor. An active engineer to the last, Lemuel Hedge died when eighty-seven in Brooklyn, New York, August 1, 1853, and was buried in Evergreen Cemetery of that city.

The Invention of the Rotary Pump—In the chapter on "River and Lake Navigation" the stories are told of the early efforts to navigate the Connecticut River, and of Captain Samuel Morey and what was really the first commercially valuable steamboat built in America. The steamboat was a still novel creation a hundred years ago and inventors were scratching the inner recesses of their brains for any improvement that could be made in what was still a crude affair. John M. Cooper, of Guildhall, Vermont, came to Windsor, July 16, 1827, with a pump which he thought might prove useful on steamcraft. He convinced two village capitalists that it was a good thing, and they put up the money to take over the abandoned textile buildings of the Essex Merino Association and prepare to build the Cooper "Rotative Piston Pump." The inventor was on the right track but had failed to go far enough. The pump wouldn't work well enough, and the hopeful industry, which had been capitalized at $100,000, failed almost before it started. Less than a year after Cooper's patent, another was granted to Asahel Hubbard, a native of Meriden, Connecticut, but a resident of West Windsor and the owner of a water mill. This was called the "Revolving Hydraulic Engine," and was patented April 28, 1828. Like many great inventions it was a very simple affair consisting of two meshed gears revolving in a water-tight casing. Water was picked up at the bottom of the engine (most mechanical devices were called engines at that time) and conveyed around the sides of the casing but, prevented from return by the meshing of the gears, thrust the water out at the top in a most beautifully steady and smooth stream. Jabez Proctor of Proctorsville, father of Senator Redfield Proctor, was induced to back the inventor in the manufacture of his pump. The company formed in 1829, was the National Hydraulic Company, from which sprang a series of machine industries "in which have developed some of the most important improvements in mechanic arts, and

some of the most notable American Mechanics. . . and no less than thirty descended and related industries notable in the engineering field." Further, Hubbard's invention, unchanged in principle, is still being manufactured after nearly a complete century and may be seen on automobiles pumping water and oil, or in the form of the electrically driven fire pump throwing a thousand gallons a minute.

The National Hydraulic Company has a curious history. Jabez Proctor had influence enough to get the State to set up power and machines in the Vermont State Prison at Windsor, and to have Asahel Hubbard appointed Warden. He and the company built their pumps using convicts at twenty-five cents a day pay. Agencies were established all over the United States and even in Mexico. Contracts would be taken to supply pumps of any size and agree to deliver and install them anywhere. St. Louis, Missouri, was in the throes of building the first water-works and bought a large sized Windsor pump. "This huge pump," says Guy Hubbard, "was built, and in the spring of 1830 it was taken by the inventor to St. Louis; the journey being made by wagon over the Green Mountains to Albany, thence by the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and by Lake steamer to Chicago (which was then a small settlement) and then by wagon and boat to St. Louis. The pump was successfully installed by Asahel Hubbard, but when he came to settle the bill he discovered that the Aqueduct Company did not have sufficient cash to pay it. A collection was then taken up among the citizens of the forerunner of the present Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and this additional amount, together with a white saddle horse 'to boot', was accepted by the inventor as payment in full. Asahel Hubbard and his horse returned by the same route by which he went West, and months after his departure he rode into Windsor, where his mount was long remembered by the older inhabitants as the 'St. Louis horse.' "

The Development of the Modern Repeating Rifle—Some of the greatest gunsmiths in America came from Vermont, and Vermonters played prominent rôles in the improvement of the modern rifle. Asahel Hubbard was connected with the early rifle manufacturing in Windsor, making in his plant the first Kendall Rifles, an improved sporting arm invented by his son-in-law, Nicanor Kendall. Kendall was born in the West Parish, Windsor, December 20, 1807. He became a gunsmith under the tutelage of Asa Story, a local black- and gun-smith. Guy Hubbard relates that, "one day when

riding in a sleigh with his future wife, Kendall started to draw one of Story's rifles from beneath the fur robe to shoot a squirrel, but instead maimed his hand and sent a bullet through the hair of the young lady as the gun exploded prematurely. This startling accident inspired him to invent a new rifle, which was one of the safest, simplest, and most dependable sporting arms ever devised, and it became the standard of the locality as long as the percussion lock remained in use." Two of these Kendall rifles are preserved in the great museum in the Tower of London, and a third, which was the boyhood companion of President Chester A. Arthur, is now in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society. Hubbard and Kendall filled many large orders for this gun including a number for the struggling Republic of Texas, 1836, for which they received some 2,000 acres of Texas land.

Kendall bought out the interests of Asahel Hubbard in 1839, and gave employment to Richard Smith Lawrence, a native of Chester, Vermont, born November 22, 1817. Lawrence received $100 a year and board at first but proved so skillful that he was made a partner in 1843. Funds were lacking in this partnership to carry out some desired expansion, but, in 1844, Samuel E. Robbins, a wealthy Boston lumberman, came to them with the proposition that he would finance the company if it would contract with the United States Government to supply rifles for the war with Mexico which was imminent. The firm of Robbins, Kendall & Lawrence was organized and took a contract for 10,000 "Harpers Ferry Model Rifles" at the price of $10.90, a figure which other contractors deemed impossibly low. Lawrence had a genius for organization and invention. He constructed novel and efficient machinery which eliminated much of the hand work, and gathered three hundred skilled workmen from all parts of the country. The contract was filled and money made, but Kendall, who did not understand "big business," withdrew. The partnership was reorganized as the Windsor Car & Rifle Company, in 1849, and although Lawrence introduced what is now the modern method of pressing on car wheels, the car side of the business was a failure and was abandoned within a year.

Henry, Wesson and Sharps—Lawrence managed to bring a number of remarkable men in association with his activities, such as Henry D. Stone and Frederick W. Howe, who, with Lawrence, are ranked as among the great American mechanical geniuses. Benjamin Tyler Henry, Daniel Baird Wesson and Christian Sharps, men whose names are known by everyone who knows anything about

firearms, were also workmen in the Lawrence plant. Henry was the grandson of Benjamin Tyler whose pre-Revolutionary iron works at West Claremont supplied much of the iron used by the early mechanics of Windsor. Lawrence and Henry entered into an agreement with Courtlandt C. Palmer of New York, to correct the faults in the almost worthless Jennings repeating rifle. This was about 1850 and the two succeeded in improving the arm making 5,000 of them at Windsor. Later, Henry took this repeating rifle, adapted it to use new ammunition, and thousands of them were used in the Civil War as the Henry rifle. When Governor Winchester founded the rifle works the Henry-Jennings rifle became the far-famed Winchester repeater.

Wesson and Lawrence were responsible for the Robbins & Lawrence Revolving pistol of 1850. Wesson afterwards founded the Smith & Wesson Company of Springfield, the well-known revolver and automatic pistol makers. Some of the old Robbins & Lawrence machines, in 1922 and possibly later, were in active service in the Springfield works doing "more and better work than the modern ones."

Christian Sharps invented a breech-loading rifle which he brought to Windsor in 1848. Lawrence perfected this, adding to it the "Lawrence Pellet Primer Lock" and in 1852 the Lawrence & Robbins Company set up a branch shop in Hartford, Connecticut, to manufacture what was called the "Sharps Rifle," with Lawrence as the Master Armorer. The Sharps rifle had the distinction of being the first breech-loading arm to be used extensively in war and sealed the doom of the muzzle-loading gun as a military affair. The "sharpshooter" of the Civil War was not so named because of his eyesight.

To the Robbins & Lawrence Company must the honor go of being the originators of the "Interchangeable U. S. Army Rifle," the parts of which, or of many, could be mixed and reassembled without regard to the gun from which they came. Six of these rifles and their interchangeability were exhibited at the Crystal Palace, London, in 1851, and were the means of bringing to the Windsor firm a number of orders from abroad. The first 25,000 Interchangeable English Rifles used in the Crimean War came from the Vermont factory, and most of the mechanical equipment of the new Royal Armory at Enfield, England, was constructed in Windsor (1855). This Enfield Armory repaid the debt of the past in the World War by supplying the American Expeditionary Forces with nearly all of

their rifles. It would be just to claim that the ancestry of nearly all of the finest rifles now used around the globe might be traced to the Windsor inventors and makers.

Other Robbins & Lawrence Workmen—The mechanics of the Windsor shops who became the gunsmiths of the nation, were but one of the groups of remarkable workmen serving in the Robbins & Lawrence plant. Charles E. Billings was one; he was the founder with the inventor, Christopher M. Spencer, of the Billings and Spencer Company, the pioneer and leading drop forging concern in the world. George A. Fairfield was another; he established the Weed Sewing Machine Company at Hartford, and with Mr. Spencer (who was a protégé of Richard Lawrence) founded the Hartford Machine Screw Company which introduced the automatic screw machine to the world. Both Billings and Fairfield became millionaires.

Frederick Webster Howe was Lawrence's right-hand man, and left Windsor to become one of the four who originated the famous Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company of Providence, Rhode Island (1868); this is one of the leading machine companies of the world. Henry D. Stone and Mr. Howe, while at Windsor, invented (about 1855) the modern Turret Lathe considered one of the most important machine tools now in use. Howe also designed at Windsor the Lincoln Milling machine, of which 300,000 have been made, and the original Universal Milling machine, without which few modern machine shops would try to operate.

The Lamson & Goodnow Company and Some of their Notable Workmen—In 1858 the Windsor Armory was purchased by Lamson & Goodnow of Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts, and in it began the manufacture of a sewing machine designed by Henry D. Stone and Edwin Clark. When the Civil War broke out the Lamson & Goodnow Company went into the manufacture of rifles for the Government, selling their sewing machine to Thomas White who took it to Cleveland Ohio, in 1866, and continued its construction. It was the predecessor of the White Sewing Machine so well known. General Hiram Berden was one of the Lamson workmen; he invented the modern centre-fire cartridge and the Berden Rifle while at Windsor, and after four years in command of Union "sharpshooters" became firearms' expert to the Russian Government which had adopted his rifle for use in its army. Albert Ball, another of the Lamson & Goodnow mechanics, was the inventor of the Ball Repeat-



MAIN STREET, SPRINGFIELD



SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SPRINGFIELD

ing Rifle, later incorporated in the Winchester. In partnership with others, he founded the Sullivan Machinery Company, makers of mining and quarrying machines, and lived to see this concern, based upon more than a hundred of his patents, become the largest of its kind in the world.

Others of these astounding workmen were: William Palmer, inventor of the Palmer Carbine adopted and adapted by the Prussian Government and used during the Franco-Prussian War; Dennis Lane, originator of the Lane Saw Mills, first at Windsor and later at Montpelier; Quimby S. Backus, of the Backus Vise fame; David Moore, inventor at Windsor of the Rachet wrench; Frederick E. Wells, who went to Greenfield and established the Greenfield Tap & Die Company, the largest industry of that place and holding a chief place among like companies in the world. George H. Coates, Windsor born and trained, was the founder of the Coates Clipper Company of Worcester, Massachusetts, and the inventor of the flexible shaft used for so many purposes today.

Among the descendants of inventors of Windsor who inherited some of the genius of their ancestors were: Henry D. Lawrence of Windsor, a cousin of Richard S., who did remarkable things in connection with the establishment of the mechanical industries of Sherbrooke, Province of Quebec, and who aided in its growth within his day from a country village of 5,000 to a busy city of 20,000 population; George W. Hubbard, a nephew of the inventor of the rotary pump, invented while at Windsor the familiar coffee percolator (1876) and, in 1880, the patent glaziers' point and drive which revolutionized the setting of window glass. The Lamson & Goodnow Company, after the end of the Civil War, sold out their gun-making machinery to the Winchester Company and re-equipped the Windsor Armory building as a cotton mill, and Mr. Lamson, in association with Henry D. Stone, laid the foundations of the Jones & Lamson Machine Company about which no praises will be sung here.

"First" and "largest" and "in the world" and other superlatives have been used in this account of Windsor's mechanical leadership, with malice aforethought, for the expressions are believed to be justifiable, based on authorities, and necessary to an honest and deserved tribute to the famous workmen of this small Vermont town.

Springfield, "The Cradle of Industry"—That so much space has been given to the industrial history of one small Vermont town must not be interpreted as meaning that this is the only place noteworthy

for its basal industries or inventions. While it is doubtful whether any other Vermont town can make an equal showing in world-known mechanical productions and mechanical engineers, there are a dozen or two villages which shared in the remarkable manufacturing developments of the earlier times which fostered so marvelous a spirit of inquiry and invention. Springfield, Vermont, was one of these two dozen, another small place with few natural reasons beyond waterpower and men for industrial leadership, and yet Springfield prides itself as "The Cradle of Industry." The stories of such present large concerns as the very large Jones & Lamson Machine Company, the active Parks & Woolson Machine Company, which can celebrate its centennial in 1929, and other present-day industries of Springfield can be told in another chapter. In the paragraphs which follow it is the inventor rather than the plant in which he produced his invention who will be given the floor.

Springfield Inventors—More than 200 patents have been granted to Springfield mechanics. The Parks & Woolson Machine Company was begun by John Davidson, an inventor, and Frederick Parks, a skilled mechanic, whose business it was to superintend the construction of Davidson's machines. The inventions had to do with the improved and speedier shearing and finishing of woolen cloth. Davidson, in the 1830's, invented a rotary churn which sold well. He also (1828) made a "vibrating shearing machine," with two straight blades one of which vibrated, which had a capacity of shearing forty yards of cloth a day, which was well beyond what any other machine of that time could do. In 1839 he took out a patent of an instrument with revolving blades, capable of finishing 1,200 yards a day, the best and fastest of its kind. Later this was improved to do four thousand yards of cloth per day, which machine with improvements is manufactured in quantities at the present time. Davidson died in 1850, since which time the company he founded has gone under its present name, and like the Robbins & Lawrence Company of Windsor has been remarkable for the mechanics and inventors who have worked for a time with the concern. (The Jones & Lamson, mention of which has been made in previous paragraphs, originated in Windsor after the Civil War.) Amasa Woolson who became a partner of the firm of Davidson, Parks & Woolson, in 1846, took out no fewer than eight patents on the shearing machine, and was the originator of a scheme for saving the lists on cloth. Adna Brown, a manager of this company, first invented a wire device for holding an egg while taking off the shell. Then in rapid succession he invented a tricycle



HOLDEN-LEONARD MILL, BENNINGTON

for boys, a flock protector for shearing machines, a cloth-measuring machine and one for folding cloth (former hand operations), a cylinder for steaming woolen goods, a worsted polishing instrument, a brushing device, a combination napper and gig and others of lesser importance. These three men, Davidson, Woolson and Brown, by their improvements in cloth finishing machinery, were so far in advance of other inventors of the world, that they were enabled to give to Springfield a lead in the making of this type of machinery which brought both wealth and fame to the Vermont village.

The Smiths—There were blacksmiths, gunsmiths and a silversmith in Springfield in the pioneer days, and inventors, a half dozen at least, by the name of Smith. David M. Smith was exceedingly prolific in invention, having to his credit, an axe haft, a combination lock (1849) which Hobbs, the great lock expert, said was the only one which could not be picked, and a combination lock. He invented the first lathe dog ever used and which is still used; the common clothespin originated with David M. His blanket hook and eye was much used in the Army and Navy. He invented a corn-planter, a screw head and driver, a broom holder, a lift spring for match-boxes, an adding machine, breech-loading gun, joint for carpenter's rules, as well as a number of improvements of various kinds of machinery. Many of his inventions he manufactured in Springfield. Miles Smith originated an improvement in scythe snaths which was patented in the United States and Canada and which is still made in a Springfield plant. Rev. Pinckney Frost patented an improvement of snaths. Asahel Burr, Joseph and Isaac Smith all invented improvements in harness hames which were used by the Vermont Hames Company, which started with Burr in 1836 and continued until 1875. Jesse Warren invented the Warren plow and made it in the Vermont Snath Company, one of the present large concerns of Springfield. Herbert M. Warren, a son, invented Warren's improved gravel roofing and made fortunes for all who had a part in its manufacture. Joel A. H. Ellis contrived a steam shovel in 1848 which did good work in the building of the early railroads of Vermont and elsewhere. To his credit goes the splint basket so much used about a farm. During the 1850's and 1860's he made the first toy carts and the first guitar and violin cases placed upon the markets; also doll carriages and jointed dolls. In 1870 he patented the principle of utilizing exhaust steam applied to bisulphite of carbon for motive power. In all Ellis received thirteen patents, but some of the best of his inventions were never patented.

Other Well-known Inventors—Frederick A. Porter invented the automatic card machines, an elaborate-working device. Luke W. Taylor patented the Taylor mop and perfected the machines of more than one inventor. B. B. Choate invented a wringer for this mop. Jonathan Woodbury devised the sweep-horse power once so much used in the West. Moses H. Grinnell invented a process for polishing marble. A. J. Fullam improved stencil dies and the machinery for making them. He also made an instrument for shearing sheep which was later used for clipping horses and cleaning up the necks of the modern "flapper." Noah Safford originated hay and straw cutters. F. B. Gilman invented a number of improvements in lathes for turning lasts, hat-blocks, and other irregular forms in wood, now, with fifty other machines manufactured by the very large "Fellow Gear Shaper Company" of Springfield, many of these machines being the inventions of the company's workmen or their improvements. Other Springfield inventors were G. A. Watkins, and Dr. Eleazer Crain, L. T. Guernsey, publisher of the "Telegraph" who patented an improvement of the printing-press, Charles C. Johnson, Captain Alvin C. Mason (machine for making hooks and eyes, and others), W. L. Bryant and F. S. Weatherhead.

James Hartness—One does not usually look to a former Governor of Vermont, an official in many offices of the State, and a representative of the United States abroad during the World War, to find a prominent inventor. Nevertheless, James Hartness, beginning when he was about twenty years old, was granted the first of his over one hundred patents. After seven years' experience in Connecticut industrial plants he came to Springfield, in 1888, as a designer of machinery for the Jones and Lamson Machine Company, with which he served successfully as superintendent, manager and president, and became one of the leading manufacturers and engineers of New England. He perfected the original flat turret lathe or screw machine, as well as the automatic check, roller feed, automatic hydraulic shucking, pneumatic convertible bar-work, all geared turret, cross-feeding head, low-swing, double swing, and possibly several other lathes. He originated many forms of dies for splitting rods of irons, on tricycles, locks, carpenter's planes, sensitive drills and turret machines for shop use, to mention a few of the improvements of machine shop equipment which increased capacity for work, and for perfected, rapid and economical execution. In 1920 he headed the list of four eminent scientists and inventors to receive awards from the century-old fund given to Philadelphia by John Scott. Gov-

ernor Hartness, being interested in astronomy, invented the turret equatorial telescope, which is so valuable in protecting an astronomer from the weather.

Pioneer Industries and Inventions of Vermont Towns—Windsor and Springfield, after all, but illustrate what was going on everywhere in what might be termed the "inventive era" of Vermont. The twain had early industries and inventions which affected the manufactures of the world rather than being confined to a State, but many other places contributed notable contrivances to industry or set the pace for others. It would be possible to go on at great length concerning the industrial history of very many towns. Bennington must always be considered carefully when the early history of Vermont is being searched. It will bear repeating that this town had a woolen business prior to the Revolution which has continued down to the present day. Paper was made there, 1784, first in Vermont. One of the earliest of knit underwear factories was started here in 1802. The first pottery in Vermont was opened at Bennington in 1793 by Captain John Norton and his sons. It was a rough red earthenware that was moulded and peddled from carts all over the country. The Bennington Ware, the delight of collectors, was of a later date. There was proportionately as much inventive genius in Bennington as in other towns, but there was no centering upon a few lines as in the towns already mentioned. John Flack Winslow was born in Bennington, and was the first man in America to use the Bessemer process of making steel, and originated several important devices used in the manufacture of iron and steel. He was, it will be recalled, the builder of the "Monitor" of Civil War fame. Olin Scott was another native-born son, for half a century a leader in the making of gunpowder both in Bennington and elsewhere.

Brattleboro always suggests pipe organs to the average mind. Jacob Estey went there in 1835 as a plumber but later began building melodeons, and later cottage organs. Before the organ period Brattleboro had one of the first cotton mills, and became quite a center for all sorts of wooden articles. The Estey works have always been a source of ingenious contrivances and inventions, but the most world famous of Brattleboro inventors was, probably, Seth Wilmarth, who originated the "heavy lathe" and planes, and was for twenty years superintendent and master mechanic of the Charlestown Navy Yard.

Burlington has been mentioned in connection with its former importance as one of the greatest lumber ports in the country. As

the largest city and industrial center, no summary of its early operations can be condensed in a paragraph. It is rather interesting to realize that the "Match Millionaire" of Canada, Ezra Eddy, was born in Burlington. Montpelier, despite the importance of its factories, seems to have turned its inventive ability loose on the construction of strange legislation, for which legislation it cannot be blamed since it accepts what the rest of the State sends. Bellows Falls is said to be the first place of America in which paper was made successfully wholly from wood pulp (1866). Here also was built the first canal in the country (1798) and the first paper mill of the place was built on this canal in 1802. The scythe snath business of Bellows Falls is said to be the oldest in the United States.

St. Johnsbury has the most extensive scales works in the world. Thaddeus Fairbanks constructed a crude platform scale in 1830 which was the progenitor of the lever type of scales used for accurate weighing of anything from a baby's breath to the tonnage of a planet. Thaddeus Fairbanks had thirty-two patents to his credit before his death in 1886. Rutland ranks second in its scale factories, but is noted more for its marble industries, and many of the devices used in the working of that stone originated among its mechanics, although Hiram Kimball of Stockbridge was the inventor of the saw which is used for cutting marble. Middlebury can hardly be listed as an industrial center, but Jeremiah Hall, a mechanic of the place, originated the circular saw but, neglecting to patent it, failed to profit thereby. The method of casting welded steel was discovered by three Middlebury workmen, Josiah Nichols, Daniel Pettibone and Ezekiel Chapman, who, although they did patent it, also failed to make any profit from their discovery. Norman Tupper of Middlebury conceived the modern way of making window sashes by machinery; and Isaac E. Markham of the same place, originated the process of sawing marble by water-power with the aid of sand, water and a toothless saw.

James Wilson, in 1796, completed the first artificial globe made in America. A few of these geographical affairs of our school days had been constructed abroad, but Wilson had never seen one. He was an uneducated man as far as schooling was concerned, but had mastered the contents of eighteen volumes of the "Encyclopedia Britannica." He settled in Bradford in 1796. Untaught he worked out his own methods of building up a light portable globe by covering a wooden ball with several layers of paper and then cutting this in hemispheres and removing. Without a teacher he projected his





MAIN STREET, WINOOSKI, 1865-1866

maps to a globular surface, a problem which has tried the skill of the greatest mathematicians, and again without teaching engraved on copper his maps. It took him a year to produce his first plates and they proved incorrect. Selling his only cow he raised money enough to start again, and this time was successful. The globes sold until the Bradford shop was not large enough to supply the demand, and others were started. "This Yankee genius without instructor or pattern, assistant or partner, had become an inventor and globe manufacturer." When eighty-three Mr. Wilson planned and constructed and engraved the plates for a Planetarium for exhibiting the movement of the heavenly bodies, the seasons, day and night and the procession of the equinoxes.

At South Shaftsbury the making of steel squares has been going on for more than a century and a quarter. This Bennington county village was, in fact, the birthplace of this useful tool, for it was the invention of the village blacksmith, Silas Hawes. The smithy was sitting in front of his shop one summer day several years before the War of 1812 waiting for the next job to turn up. A peddler drove up and desired his horse shod but wanted to trade some worn out saws he had collected for the work to be done. A bargain was struck and the peddler moved on; Silas Hawes became the possessor of a pile of old saws and straightway tried out a scheme he had held in mind for some time, the welding of two thin pieces of steel together to form a square which would have none of the disadvantages of the wooden article then in use. This he did and after marking it off in inches and their subdivisions he had the first steel square ever made in the United States. After 1814 Hawes began their manufacture on a large scale in the shop of his neighbor, Stephen Whipple, and took out a belated patent on his discovery. Many other shops about Shaftsbury began making steel squares and the Hawes name became known all over the country. The smaller concerns consolidated in 1856, and in 1864 the Eagle Square Manufacturing Company was formed which continues the manufacture of squares to this day, giving employment to nearly one hundred employees.

Captain Samuel Morey and Thomas Davenport—In the chapter on River and Lake Navigation is related the sad story of Captain Samuel Morey of Fairlee and the steamboat he operated on the Connecticut River in 1793, long before Fulton's "Clermont" steamed up the Hudson. Morey failed to receive either glory or wealth from his invention of what was the first commercially successful steamboat

ever launched. Discouraged, he sank his boat beneath the lake which now bears his name.

Captain Morey's great work in the development of the steamboat has so overshadowed his other efforts that many of his patient and fruitful researches have been forgotten, particularly those having to do with light and heat and the mechanical application of the latter. His first patent was a spit-turner in 1793. In 1795 he followed this with a patent for the application of steam to propelling boats. The records of the patent office show sixteen other patents granted him, the subjects including stoves, lamps, steam and water engines, water wheels, a steam boiler, apparatus for obtaining power from the air and shooting with steam. He had the courage to announce an attempt to burn water, and patented, in 1818, a Water Burner or Vapor Lamp. This was the result of experiments whereby jets of steam were passed through various materials producing inflammable hydro-carbon gasses; he devised a lamp which would use these. This method, elaborated, is the one now used whereby water-gas is made in our cities and towns, by passing steam through beds of glowing coal or coke. This process was not in successful service until 1874. The date of the discovery of wood alcohol is usually given as 1812, and the country in which it was discovered as England. Morey discovered and described this substance which is one of the staple articles of modern industry, eight years earlier than the English date. In 1815, he patented the Revolving Steam Engine, one of the few things from which he derived any profit, for he sold it and the peculiar mechanism was utilized in powering tow boats. One of these boats, built in Boston, made a most remarkable journey under its own steam down the coast to South Carolina and was used for years upon southern rivers. "The small engine now in the custody of the Vermont Historical Society was the model of this revolving type and not of the engine used in the first steamboat." (J. L. Davis.) In 1826, Morey patented an explosive gas or vapor engine, but evidently did not patent this father of the modern gas engine.

The tale of Thomas Davenport, although given elsewhere, will bear enough repetition to point out that he is now recognized as the inventor of the electric motor, one of the greatest inventions of the past century. Of the blanket patent which he secured it has been said by one of our highest authorities: "If this patent were in force today . . . it is not too much to say that every successful electric motor now running would be embraced within its scope." Davenport

made hundreds of motors, constructed working models of electric trip-hammers, lathes, cotton twisting machines. He was the first to operate an electric engine and railway, and this before there was one single mile of steam railroad track in Vermont. He created a telegraph before Morse originated a better one. Davenport made and ran the first electrically driven printing press and published the pioneer electrical journal on this novel press. All his life was spent in exhibiting his inventions and adding others, one of which was an electric piano! The marvelous progress made in the use of electric energy is a feature of the present century, but this man Davenport was born in 1802 and died in 1851. He passed away at his home in Brandon, Vermont, a poor man, having spent all he received to increase and improve the inventions which probably, more than any other single type have helped to advance American progress in industry. It was not until September 28, 1910, that the electrical societies recognizing the genius of Thomas Davenport erected to his memory at Forestdale, Brandon, a tribute to his memory, reading,

THOMAS DAVENPORT
1802-1851
The Inventor of the Electric
Motor.

Nation-Famous Vermont Inventors—A very interesting subject for extended research would be the "Vermont Inventors and Inventions," a subject hardly more than skimmed in this chapter. The space used has been over-much as it is, although little has been indicated of the many towns and men who played important parts in the early industries of Vermont. In 1913, Dorman B. E. Kent, after long and careful work, published a list of "One Thousand Vermont Men" whom he considered to have reached a place of highest prominence at home and abroad. From that strictly limited list of native sons the following names have been selected of those who were inventors or connected with invention. It must be remembered that only those whose birthplace was Vermont are included, and only the outstanding individuals are mentioned.

A LIST OF PROMINENT VERMONT INVENTORS

Aikens, Andrew Jackson: born October 31, 1830, at Barnard. Originator, 1864, of "patent insides" newspaper and first man in business of supplying these.

Chandler, William Wallace: born January 7, 1821, at Randolph. Inventor and operator of the first refrigerator car.

Chase, Jefferson: born 1831, at Concord. The first to make pails and tubs from wood-pulp.

Clapp, William B.: born ————, at Montgomery. First man to can meat in America.

Colton, Gardner Quincey: born February 7, 1814, at Georgia. Co-worker with Horace Wells in the discovery of laughing gas, and the first to take it for an operation. He also invented an electric locomotive.

Converse, John Heman: born December 2, 1840, at Burlington. For many years head of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, several of his inventions being used on railroad equipment.

Davenport, Thomas: born ————, at Williamstown. Inventor of the electric motor and pioneer in several other notable applications of electricity.

Deere, Charles Henry: born March 28, 1837, at Derby. Maker of the world's first steel plow and long the largest maker of plows in the world.

Dewey, Hiram Todd: born July 13, 1816, at Poultney. Viticulturist. Founded, in 1865, the first large American wine company.

Dodge, Thomas H.: born September 27, 1823, at Eden. Inventor and examiner in the Patent Office.

Eddy, Ezra Butler: born August 22, 1827, at Bristol. Originated many of the methods used in match-making and became, in Canada, a millionaire manufacturer of matches.

Fairbanks, Franklin: born June 18, 1828, at St. Johnsbury. Contributed several improvements to the Fairbanks Scales, of which Thaddeus was the inventor of the lever or platform scales. Thaddeus Fairbanks, prior to 1828, had patented the cast iron plow and a cook stove. He originated the method now universally adopted in the construction of refrigerators.

Field, Benjamin: born June 12, 1812, at Dorset. Partner with George M. Pullman in the construction of the first sleeping and parlor cars, and the originator of many things which went in their making.

Harlan, Sherman Miner: born June 29, 1864, at Chester. Improved in several ways the Welsbach light.

Harris, Silas: born ————, at Shaftsbury. Originated the carpenter's square.

Hart, Gilbert: born ————, at Wallingford. Inventor of Hart emery wheel.

Harvey, Thomas William: born July 22, 1795, at Wardsboro. Patentor of the gimlet pointed screw; founder of the Harvey Steel & Iron Company of Mott Haven, New York.

Herring, Silas Clarke: born September 7, 1803, at Shrewsbury. Maker and inventor of Herring safe.

Hodges, Silas Henry: born January 12, 1804, at Clarendon. United States Commissioner of Patents and Chief Examiner at Washington, 1861-1875.

Hood, Charles Ira: born at Chelsea. Originator of Hood's Sarsaparilla, and sometimes called the inventor of "patent medicines."

Johnson, Edwin Ferry: born May 23, 1803, at Essex. For many years one of the foremost civil engineers in America. His inventions were mostly connected with his profession.

Kimball, Hiram A.: born October 1, 1837, at Stockbridge. Inventor of saw for cutting marble.

Langdon, William Chauncy: born August 19, 1831, at Burlington. Was Chief Examiner in the United States Patent Office.

Otis, Elisha Graves: born August 3, 1811, at Halifax. Inventor of the Otis Elevator.

Rice, Vietts Lysander: born 1844, at Windsor. Inventor of the roller process for making flour.

Roberts, Benjamin Stone: born 1811, at Manchester. Inventor of railroad and other devices.

Rowell, George Presbury: born July 4, 1838, at Concord. Founder of the first advertising agency in the United States, and of the first newspaper directory.

Sargent, James: born December 1, 1829, at Chester. Inventor of the first successful time lock.

Schoff, Stephen Alonzo: born January 16, 1818, at Danville. Engineer and inventor.

Scott, Olin: born February 27, 1832, at Bennington. Was for half a century a leader in the making of powder, many of the methods used being of his own contriving.

Smith, David M.: born 1809, at Hartland. Patented more than sixty various machines and devices.

Smith, Hezekiah Bradley: born July 24, 1816, at Bridgewater. Received a number of valuable patents; was the founder of Smithville, New Jersey.

Stewart, Philo P.: born about 1800, at Pawlet. Inventor of the cook stove.

Stillman, Williams Robinson: born ————, at Reading. Civil engineer, inventor, author, college professor.

Stoddard, Joshua C.: born August 26, 1814, at Pawlet. Inventor of the steam calliope and of a horse rake of which 100,000 were made.

Strong, Francis Miles: born September 16, 1829, at Pittsford. Inventor of the Howe Scale.

Walker, Albert H.: born November 25, 1844, at Fairfax. Was author of authoritative work on "Patents."

Warren, Edward K.: born April 7, 1847, at Ludlow. Inventor of "Featherbone," from which he became wealthy.

Wells, Horace: born January 21, 1815, at Hartford. Joint-discoverer of laughing gas.

Wilmarth, Seth: born September 8, 1810, at Brattleboro. Inventor of Heavy lathes and planes. He was for twenty years superintendent and master mechanic of the Charlestown Navy Yard.

Winslow, John Flack: born November 5, 1810, at Bennington. First in America to make Bessemer steel; was the builder of the "Monitor" and contributed several improvements in iron and steel working.

CHAPTER XXIV

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Since the world was first created there has been some wear and tear,
And little wheels have slipped their cogs, or rusted here and there;
So God he built the Yankee, lank and odd to look upon,
But fit to do the little things that needed to be done.

The Yankee did his duty, but he noticed now and then,
The wages that were offered by the devil unto men,
So lest his children's children be lured and led astray,
Said he, "I'll build them temples that will flout the devil's pay."

"I'll carve my high commission into tablets made of stone,
Let the spirit be the Master's and the workmanship my own."
Firm of will the Yankee builder did this work and went before,
And the little Yankee college acts as his executor.

The little Yankee college, it is shadowed now and then
By mightier machinery for educating men;
But we seem to hear that builder's ghostly whisper,—"I opine
The little mills grind fewer grains, but grind 'em extra fine."

The little Yankee colleges, God bless them, heart and soul,—
Each little lump of leaven that leaveneth the whole,
What need of mighty numbers, if they fashion, one by one,
The men who do the little things a-needing to be done.

—BURGESS JOHNSON.

In 1777 the people of the New Hampshire Grants, feeling themselves to be "without law or government," issued a Declaration of Independence and set themselves up as the independent republic of New Connecticut—"alias Vermont." In the constitution, drafted at Windsor, July 2, 1777, section 40 made the declaration that "One grammar school in each county, and one university in the State ought to be established by the direction of the General Assembly." This was the first attempt by any State in America looking to the setting up of a single State university.

Preliminaries of the Establishment of Colleges—There was, however, a great deal of discussion and many difficulties to be overcome before an institution of higher learning was founded in the area of Vermont. The annexation of the New Hampshire towns east of the Connecticut River, in 1778, brought Dartmouth College, at Hanover, under the patronage of the Green Mountain State. This col-

lege had been a going institution for more than a decade, at this time; the beloved founder, Eleazar Wheelock, was still alive and acting capably as its head. Hanover was centrally located. Vermont was, therefore, in the very enviable position of having a ready-made State college within its bounds. Even when, at the request of President Wheelock, the college and the former New Hampshire towns were ceded back to that State, Vermont voted a township for the support of Dartmouth, and named it Wheelock in honor of the president. Encouraged by the friendly attitude of Vermonters toward this educational institution, the "College Party" in New Hampshire suggested that all the lands reserved by royal charter for church glebes and for the propagation society be turned over to the college, and that all the lands in Vermont granted for schools and university be also given to the trustees of Dartmouth. In gracious appreciation of such gifts the authorities declared themselves ready to look after the educational affairs of Vermont. At this period, New Hampshire was quite willing to take over all the affairs of Vermont, or, at least, divide the control of them with New York State. All of which wakened Vermonters to the fact that they must look to themselves for both education and government. Elijah Paine, of Williamstown, came to the front with an offer of £2,000 for the establishment of a State university, provided it was located in his home town. Ira Allen, pledged himself personally for double this amount for a school to be established at Burlington, and guaranteed a much larger sum of money would be given by others. There was much discussion, and counter offers, some dissension also, so that it was not until 1791 that anything decisive was done about setting up the university, declared for fourteen years earlier.

VERMONT UNIVERSITY

The Founding of the University of Vermont—One of the first acts of the first General Assembly of Vermont, after its admission to the Federal Union, was one chartering the University of Vermont, November 2, 1791; a name was given the new institution by the State, and its location at Burlington determined. It is the oldest, therefore, of the State universities in America according to the modern conception of that terminology. The preamble of the charter law read:

> Whereas, the education of youth is necessary for the advancement of morality, virtue and happiness, and tends to render a people of State respectable; to



BUILDINGS AND PART OF CAMPUS, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

promote which, establishments for Seminaries and Colleges have ever been patronized by all good governments; and whereas several grants of land have already been made by the State and private liberal donations have been offered, for promoting so needful an establishment within the same, which demand the attention of this Legislature for laying the foundation of an institution so beneficial to society; therefore

It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, that there shall be, and thereby is, a College instituted and established in the township of Burlington. . . . to be known and designated by the name of The University of Vermont.

All offers of private subscriptions had been refused prior to the action of the Legislature, and the State Government was more inclined to pay its own way, as far as was possible, in the building up of the new institution. It was the custom of Vermont to grant townships to settlers throughout the State, but in most of these grants one right of land was reserved for a college. The University of Vermont eventually became the recipient of most of these reservations, amounting in all to 29,000 acres, the larger share of which were situated in the northern part of the country.

Ira Allen, brother of Ethan Allen, was one of the most active of the founders of the University, both in bringing about its establishment and in looking after its support. He was one of the trustees, and it was due to his absence in Europe, as much as to any other factor that there was so much delay in getting the college started. It was three years before some of the land had been cleared and a house built for a president, a dwelling sufficiently large to accommodate him, his family and the few students who might be expected to attend the new university. A full decade after the founding of the institution the first regular college building was erected (1801-1802) at a cost of $35,000. It had four stories, was 160 by 75 feet with 45-foot wings, and had 46 rooms of various sizes. A really fine structure, for its day, it was well suited for the purposes to which it was put. The United States governmental authorities took possession of the building during the War of 1812, turning it into a barracks and arsenal. After the war the Government put these in complete repair, and returned them; thus the one period during the century and a quarter of college teaching when such exercises were completely interrupted, came to an end. This edifice was burned to the ground on May 27, 1824, but a new building was at once begun, the corner-stone of the southern portion being laid by General Lafayette, June 29, 1825. There were three buildings erected in line in this replacement of the original; not until 1849 did the three become one by

the continuing of their east and west walls. The "Old College," or the "Old Mill" as it has been called by several generations of students, assumed its present form in 1883, as the result of the beneficence of John P. Howard.

The First President and Students—The first president of the University was chosen in 1800, Daniel C. Sanders, a graduate of Harvard, class of 1788, who for nine years was the whole executive and teaching force of the institution. The commencement exercises of the first graduating class were held in the newly completed building in 1804; it consisted of four persons who were duly awarded bachelor degrees. Three years later there were forty-seven students enrolled, and by 1808 there were sixty-one students, each of whom paid an annual tuition fee of twelve dollars. There were now so many to be taught, and so much college business to be attended to that four professors were added to the faculty during the next two years. The president's job was no sinecure, but somehow Daniel Sanders managed to look after the college, do a great deal of preaching and public speaking, and write well on various subjects, such as his "History of the Indian Wars." He received the princely salary from the University of six hundred dollars a year. This, fortunately, was supplemented by four hundred dollars paid by the first parish of Burlington. President Sanders resigned when the War of 1812 prevented the continuance of college work. Rev. Samuel Austin, D. D., a graduate of Yale University in 1783, took command of affairs after the war had ended, and the University buildings returned. After six years he was succeeded by another Yale man, Rev. Daniel Haskell, who shouldered the desperate task of trying to keep the school alive. There were neither sufficient funds nor students; the initial enthusiasm with which the University had been founded had waned. The burning of the main building, in 1824, was almost a death blow, and did render President Haskell temporarily insane.

Presidents and Professors—It seems quite likely that the University of Vermont would have come to an untimely end right then had it not been for Professor Arthur Porter who, not only took over the management of affairs, but set about, with the aid of the students, to raise funds for new buildings which were erected the following year. Rev. Willard Preston (Brown, 1806) now became president for a year. He was succeeded by Rev. James Marsh



IRA ALLEN CHAPEL, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

(Dartmouth, 1817), scholar, educator, man of vision. Under his direction the "curriculum was reorganized and classification was made according to studies and attainments. Something corresponding to the elective system was inaugurated. College government was made more liberal." These educational reforms were described in a pamphlet published in 1829, which was received with great approval in the world of education, the document being called "a landmark in the development of the American college." President Marsh was probably the first educator in this country to "include in a senior course a series of lectures on the Philosophy of the Fine Arts, this course having been given as early as 1831." Doctor Marsh resigned the presidency in 1833, to devote himself to the teaching of philosophy. He had been fortunate during the later part of his term in office in having Professor George W. Benedict (Williams, 1818) to take many of the executive duties from his shoulders.

Rev. John Wheeler, graduate of Dartmouth in 1816, was made president in 1834, and did notably well in placing the finances of the University on a reasonably firm and extensive basis. And a financier as well as a scholar was needed in authority, for the panic of 1837 hit Vermont hard and the University had difficulty in weathering the storm. When Doctor Wheeler resigned, in 1848, he not only had been able to bring the school through the trying period in safety but had managed to add to its grounds, equipment and courses of instruction. President Wheeler had associated with him Professor Joseph Torrey, teacher of philosophy and a great scholar. Professor Torrey laid the foundations of the library collections of today. It was said of the library which he purchased and brought to the University that "only Harvard had so good a working library."

From 1848 to 1855, Rev. Worthington Smith was president, to be succeeded by Calvin Pease who served until the breaking out of the Civil War, during the greater part of which period Professor Torrey was the acting president. Half of the students entered the Union Army or Navy during the war, and the University suffered from the lack of attendants and means. Renewed vigor came with establishment of a State Agricultural College under the provisions of a Federal Act by which one college in each State, formed "for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts," should receive federal funds. This school was incorporated with the University on November 9, 1865, as the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, with James B. Angell, a former professor of Brown University, as the head of what was practically a new organization. So

efficient was he in the various duties of his office that other colleges clamored for his services, and the University of Michigan managed to get him to accept the presidency of that very large university in 1871.

Matthew H. Buckham's Administration—The successor to James B. Angell was chosen from among the faculty, Matthew H. Buckham, for fourteen years a professor of Greek. He was also a University of Vermont graduate (1851), one of the three presidents of which this may be written. The long years which went to make up President Buckham's administration, from 1871 to 1910, were, perhaps, the greatest in the expansion of the University. Most of the principal buildings of today were erected during this period: The "Old College" reconstructed in 1881-82; the Billings Library, 1885; Engineer Buildings, 1891; Williams Science Hall, 1896; Gymnasium, 1901; the Medical Building, 1905, replacing one presented by the Hon. John P. Howard and burned the previous year; and Morrill Hall, 1907, the only structure of the University erected by State funds. The intellectual advancement during the reign of President Buckham kept pace with the material. One of the first changes made was the opening of the University to both sexes in 1872, to all except the Medical School,—this exception being done away with in 1920.

After the death of President Buckham in 1910, Dr. Guy P. Benton was called to direct the affairs of the University. He has been, in succession, president of Upper Iowa University and Miami (Ohio) University; his term of office in Burlington was from 1911 to 1919. During the last two years of his presidency, Doctor Benton was on leave of absence in Europe for war work. "He was a member of the Committee on Education affiliated with the Council of National Defense, was the first of the American college presidents to go to Europe under the auspices of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, organized the work of that society in Paris and in the advanced sectors, ... and, after the Armistice, became Educational Director of the American Army of Occupation at Coblenz. He received the Distinguished Service medal for his work during the war."

President Guy W. Bailey, A. B., LL.D.—Three graduates of the University of Vermont have been its president, Dr. Guy W. Bailey being the present member (1929) of the group. After two years' service as comptroller of the University, he became acting president

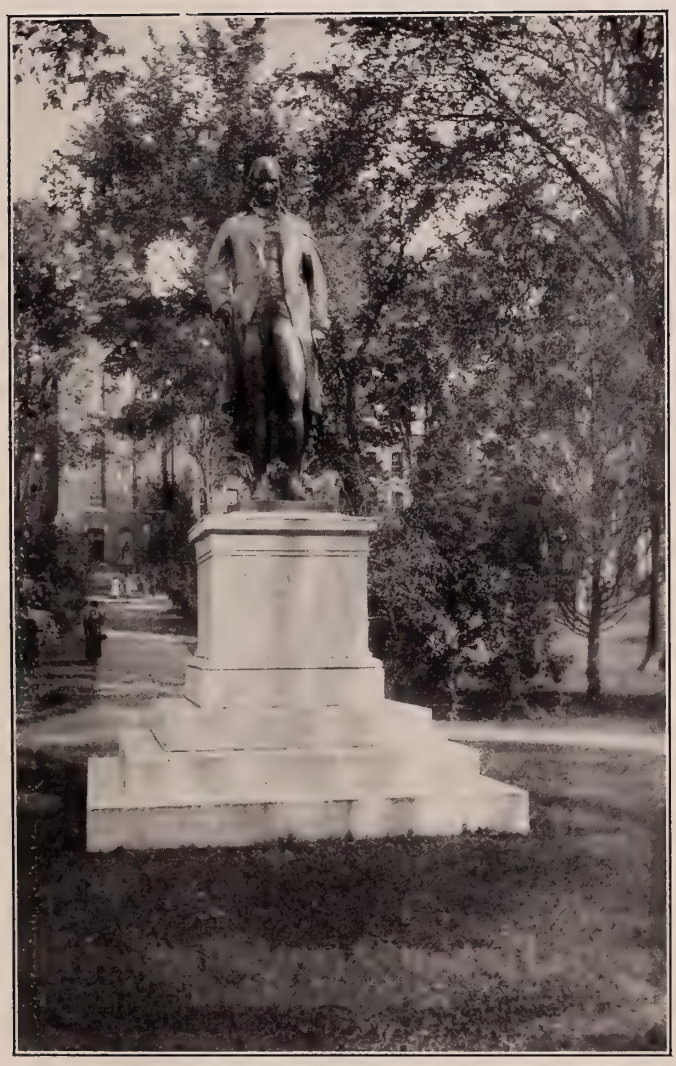
upon Dr. Benton's resignation in 1919, and president of the Commencement exercises in 1920. Dr. Bailey was graduated in 1900, admitted to the Bar four years later, was the Secretary of State of Vermont from 1908 to 1917, and had been connected with the University in various capacities since 1914. There were few men so eminently fitted for the direction of the affairs of the University of Vermont as was this native son of the State, whose career has been closely connected with both State and university, and whose knowledge and ability were well recognized and tested. The University of Vermont is very much of an institution for Vermonters, rather more so than other schools of its class. In 1928, out of a student body of 1,376 there were 910 entered from the State. The Medical School is exceptional in that the majority of its students come from other States. If this school is not included in totals, more than eighty per cent of those attending the University come from Vermont. Few men have so complete a knowledge of the State, or so wide an acquaintance among its people, as the present executive.

Site and Buildings—There are many colleges and universities in the United States which equal or surpass the University of Vermont in many respects, but few are so splendidly situated. Burlington is a most beautiful city, one of the finest of residential centers in New England. It is built on the slopes of a hill by the side of Lake Champlain where this body of water is at its widest. The University buildings are grouped on the summit of this hill, overlooking not only the city, but giving a vista to the west of the Champlain Valley and the Adirondacks, and to the east command a view of Mount Mansfield and the Camel's Hump, two of the highest peaks of the Green Mountains. "The mere panorama outspread here before the boy's gaze is an educating influence. He must have a dull heart and an irresponsive brain if his four years residence in constant view of one of the fairest of earth's landscapes, of river, lake and valley, and the pomps of sunrise and sunset over the distant mountain ranges, did not refine his thoughts, elevate his ambitions, kindle his imagination, and fill his memory with pictures destined to be 'a joy forever', his mind with high aims that 'wake to perish never.'" Nor are the cultural advantages, the outside sources of improvement and cultivation of delightful Burlington, the city's healthfulness and accessibility, factors which may be overlooked or unappreciated.

A notable set of buildings have during the years been grouped

upon the university site. The oldest of the college structures, the "Old Mill" as it has been called by several generations of students, dates from 1801. It has been visited by fire several times, even within the last few years. Its present form and size is due largely to the generosity of John P. Howard. The view from the tower of Old College is one not easily forgotten; in the building itself center many of the activities of the University and the teaching of the College of Arts and Sciences. The College of Medicine Building, at the north end of the College Green, is a capacious structure, built in 1905, replacing one burned during the previous year. It is one hundred and seventy-five feet long, seventy-five feet wide, and three stories high. In the Engineering Buildings, dating from 1891, are housed the various requirements of those taking courses in engineering. Morrill Hall, provided by the State in 1904, although not completed until three years later, is a memorial to Justin Smith Morrill, for nearly forty-four years in continuous service as Representative or Senator from Vermont, and the father of the Land-Grant Colleges and the Universities of the United States. The structure is used by the Agricultural department and by the Agricultural Experiment Station. There are other buildings in connection with the agricultural work of the University, such as the greenhouses, the various farm buildings, the Experiment Station Annex (the original medical hall, a century old in 1929), and the Meteorological Observatory, erected in 1906 by the Federal Government. The Williams Science Hall (1896) was the gift of Dr. Edward H. Williams of Philadelphia, the son of Norman Williams (U. V. M., 1810), one of the earliest of the University graduates. The Hall is a large adequate building, erected at a cost of more than one quarter of a million dollars. In it are lecture rooms for 400 students and laboratories for 300, in addition to many other rooms. It also houses the plant collections which are very remarkable. Professor Joseph Torrey began a herbarium before 1850 which was presented, after his death, to the University. To this has been added, in recent years, the herbarium and botanical library of the late Charles C. Frost of Brattleboro, and the herbarium of the late Cyrus Pringle, formerly of Charlotte,—the latter is probably unsurpassed, in quality, by any collection in existence, and ranks, in size, as one of the largest in America.

Among the other buildings on the University campus are: The Billings Library, the gift in 1885, of Frederick Billings, late of Woodstock, an alumnus, costing $175,000, the last work of H. H. Richard-



IRA ALLEN STATUE, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT CAMPUS

son, the famous architect. Additional gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Billings provided an endowment fund of one hundred thousand dollars. There is also the Museum, and the Park Gallery of Art, both with collections of yearly increasing values. The Ira Allen Chapel, completed in 1928, and one of the most beautiful college chapels in this country, is the gift of James B. Wilbur, of Manchester, who died April 28, 1929. Its auditorium and gallery are capable of seating a thousand persons. The Gymnasium and Drill Hall, to give its full designation, was built in 1901 at a cost of $40,000. With its glass roofed extension, it is fitted to care for the athletic and other physical training needs of the university. The Honorable John Helman Converse is the donor of the Hall which bears his name, and of one or two of the professors' residences. The Hall or Dormitory is reserved for Freshmen use. Redstone and Robinson Halls are the main women's dormitories; they were acquired in 1921, and are most beautifully located upon a hillside tract of eighty-six acres. Grassmount, the former home of Governor Cornelius P. Van Ness, was the first property secured for the use of young women. The former residence of General O. O. Howard, opposite Grassmount, is both dormitory and training school, students in the Home Economics department being required to live a portion of their four years here and learn by actual practice how to maintain a proper home. The Campus House is a fourth women's dormitory, and there is also an Infirmary. During the World War, as was true more than a century previously, the University buildings were turned over to Federal governmental control and uses, to a large extent. Temporary structures were erected, and the dormitories and fraternity houses utilized for barracks. "Four successive Signal Corps registering 730 men and two mechanics schools registering 1,034 men were held, and 471 men were trained in the Student Army Training Camp, a total of 2,235 men trained for military service." (W. R. Puckett.)

History of the College of Arts and Sciences—The University, as founded in 1791, was of the usual classical school type with a strong religious cast, although not denominational. The history, therefore, of the College of Arts and Sciences, is that of the University as a whole and need not be further outlined. Women were admitted to courses in this college in 1871, when one entered. In 1881 there were 8; in 1891, 30; in 1901, 44; in 1911, 77; in 1921, 314, and in 1928, 491, the totals including all of the women students in all departments of the University, but there might be added to the figures

for 1928, the number of girls pursuing the two-year State Teacher-Training course, 132, bringing the total to 623. The rise in the number of women attending the University has been somewhat coincident with the provision of dormitories for them, and the addition of courses suited to their requirements. Nearly half of the present (1928) feminine registry in the Arts and Sciences College (384) are enrolled in the Literary-Scientific curriculum but far more than half are pursuing courses preparatory to teaching. The strength of the College of Arts and Sciences lies in the general courses that are offered in which students obtain a grounding in those cultural subjects that make for intellectual training and spiritual development. These courses are of a wide variety and are many in number; the student attendance in the Arts and Sciences College make up two-thirds of the whole student body of the University, or 831 out of a total of 1,232 undergraduates in all schools.

Colleges of Engineering and Agriculture—The College of Engineering ranks second, as far as numbers are concerned, among the schools of the University, there being 150 registered, all men, in 1928. There have been engineering courses given in connection with the University of Vermont for 99 years (since 1829), it being one of the first institutions of higher education in the United States to provide such training. The provisions were made for an agricultural school, in 1862, 1865, and on, included some which aided the present College of Engineering, notably the act of Congress (1890) and the supplementary act of 1907 whereby moneys were received from the Federal Government. The curricula of study of this College covers four years, in civil, mechanical or electrical engineering.

The Vermont State Agricultural College is the result of the "Morrill Act" of July 2, 1862, which led to its establishment in 1865. As stated in the charter of the college, "The leading object shall be without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." By an act of Congress (1890) a portion of the proceeds of the public lands were granted to support agricultural schools. Since 1907, the Vermont College has received an annual Federal appropriation. In connection with the Agricultural College the Experiment Station was established as a department by the State Legislature in 1886, and since then has had funds allotted to it; there are sums which have come through Federal laws of 1887, 1906 and 1925, and funds from Vermont under an act of 1927. There are also the Agricultural Extension and other



REDSTONE DORMITORY FOR WOMEN, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

services which are associated with the duties of the Agricultural College.

It is thus seen that the College of Agriculture performs three public functions: it teaches, it investigates, it disseminates. As teacher it aims to impart a theoretical and practical training to fit one for agricultural pursuits, using the term in its largest meaning. Three courses of study are provided: Plant Industry; Animal Industry; and for the Training of Teachers of Agriculture. To these must now be added the course in Home Economics along general, vocational or professional lines. Winter courses have been given since 1891. The Agricultural Experiment Station has too many duties to perform to be mentioned in detail. The Agricultural Extension Service was established by the State in 1912 and continued on a permanent basis after 1915 by acceptance of the terms of the Federal Smith-Lever law.

Large sums have been expended in the State over a period of many years for the education of its citizenry in agriculture, and great things have been accomplished in the State-at-large. The Agricultural College, however, is not strong even with all the improvements and increases in the number of courses offered during the last decade. The total number of full time students of the College, in 1928, was 119, of which thirty-one men and two women were enrolled in the Agriculture curricula and eighty-six women in the Home Economics curriculum.

College of Medicine—In the early days a medical education was seldom obtained at a college, the would-be doctor learning his profession by reading and "riding" with some practitioner. On August 16, 1804, the University Corporation appointed a lecturer on Chirurgery and Anatomy. Exactly three years later to the month, Dr. Pomeroy, a prominent physician of Burlington, was a member of the Corporation, and two years after (August, 1809) was elected "Professor of Physic, Anatomy and Surgery in the University," and provisions were made for the granting of the degree of "Bachelor in Physic" to any licensed practitioner who should attend two courses of lectures under Dr. Pomeroy. Although a full course of lectures was not established until 1822, and the first medical degrees were conferred in 1823, and the first medical building built in 1829, the College of Medicine of the University of Vermont is one of the oldest institutions of its kind in the United States. All of which throws a strange sort of side light on the state of medical education a century ago. By 1836 the school had graduated 116

doctors of medicine (only one in 1836 however), when owing to various difficulties the college was abandoned until 1854.

As Dr. Pomeroy was chiefly instrumental in organizing the medical department, so Dr. S. W. Thayer, then of Northfield, was responsible for the revival of the school, his efforts, beginning in 1840, being crowned with success in 1854. The new institution thrived amazingly. A better building was provided for it in 1870; in 1884, John P. Howard gave a still larger one; and when this burned in 1903 the present structure was erected and dedicated in June, 1905. The number of students up to 1885 increased proportionately,—the largest graduating class in the history of the Medical College was that of 1884, when one hundred and one were graduated. It is to be recalled that during this period the preliminary requirements to enter the school were little more than a common school education. Because of this, possibly, was due the odd phenomenon that the majority of the students came from outside the State. The medical school year was but twenty weeks prior to 1895 when it was increased to six months; it was increased to seven months in 1903 and to seven and a half in 1907, and to the same length as the University terms in 1912. Entrance requirements had been raised to the equivalent of a high school education; were increased, in 1912, to include one year of collegiate work, and again raised, in 1917, to two years of academic college preparation. It may be noted, that the higher standard of preliminary requirements, introduced in 1912, had the effect, as it did in all medical schools, of greatly reducing the number of entrants, the number in 1912 being but twelve.

Until 1899 the relation of the Medical College to the University was merely nominal. At that time there was a reorganization of the faculty and curricula, and the department brought under the control of the Board of Trustees. In 1911, there was a further reorganization and the College became an "integral part of the University system." Full time professors were employed to teach the science branches of medicine, standards, both entrance and graduation requirements, raised, and the department thoroughly and solidly established as an important technical school of the State. During its long history between twenty-six and twenty-seven hundred physicians have been graduated. They have gone to every State in the Union, but it is worthy of emphasis that three-quarters of the doctors in Vermont are graduates of this College, and that a large percentage of each graduating class locate within the State. How the University of Vermont has grown in all its colleges and schools



THE CHATEAU, FRENCH DEPARTMENT OF MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

may be judged from the following table of attendence during the 1927-1928 school year:

	Men	Women	Total
Regular enrollment, 1927-1928	753	623	1,376
Summer session, 1927	122	751	873
Total registrations, 1927-28,	875	1,374	2,249
Less students counted twice	28	37	65
Total different students registered	847	1,337	2,184

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

The early settlers of Vermont with high ideals in education were confronted by the problem faced by all pioneers, that of having schools with the settlements so widely scattered. This problem was solved but the question of how and where a "classical" education might be secured was hard to answer. By 1800 there were nearly half as many people in Vermont as there were a century later, but there were no large towns and none of the modern systems of transportation; even the roads of the State were but rutted wagon trails and made up of unconnected parts. Dartmouth College was the nearest school of higher education but even this, as far as the greater part of Vermont was concerned, was a very long distance from any but the Connecticut Valley section. The State made provisions for a University at Burlington in 1791, but little had been done to make it a going institution, and it promised to become a complete failure. During the last years of the eighteenth century, certain citizens of Middlebury, the chief among whom were, Gamaliel Painter, Daniel Chipman, Samuel Miller, Seth Storrs, Darius Matthews and Jedediah Buckingham, decided that their town was a good place in which to locate a college. Middlebury with a population of about 1,300 was considerably larger than Burlington; it was situated in a growing section, and it was more centrally placed than the University village. Application was made to the Legislature for a charter, and one was granted on November 1, 1800. The college was based on the model of the older New England colleges where training was to be had in the humanities and sciences, such as there were, as a preparation for entry into one of the learned professions, more particularly teaching and the ministry. It was meant to serve the district in which it was located just as that district was expected to support the college. It was a religious

institution because its founders were religious. But it was free of any connection with State politics, being granted neither money nor lands by the State. It was what it professed to be, an old-line Yankee college aiming to serve its constituency just as colleges were doing elsewhere and were later to do in the West. Middlebury was the twenty-sixth institution of higher education to be established in the United States; and, since it secured students and teachers immediately after its organization, it should be given the credit of being the first of such institutions in the State actually to give instruction. Middlebury College has a history full of ups and downs, years when it thrived greatly and others when it was fortunate to survive; various experiments have been made in the expansion of the curricula; there were times when it became associated with State affairs and State funds, but through it all the college has kept close to the path along which it started and is today essentially a college without professional or technical schools. While it had prepared a number of thousand of men and women to go out in the world and compete with the forces of life everywhere, Middlebury has somehow been an inspiration to many to take their education to homes in Vermont.

Some Leaders of Middlebury—President Atwater, who set about the practical organization of the college in 1800, was for six years to carry on the teaching with the aid of a single tutor, a different one each year. Rev. Thomas A. Merril was the most noted of these. He was pastor of the Middlebury church and lived out his life in the village, coming there in 1800 after his graduation from Dartmouth College. Samuel Miller by a gift of one thousand dollars, in 1806, made possible the establishment of the first professorship, that of Mathematics and Natural History. In 1809, President Atwater became the president of Dickinson College and Dr. Henry Davis succeeded him, serving for eight years, resigning to be made the president of Hamilton College after refusing the presidency of Yale. He was followed, 1817, by Rev. Joshua A. Bates, a fervent orthodox minister of Dedham, Massachusetts, whose years in office were among the most strenuous of those in the history of the college. From 1838 to 1840, "all the active faculty including the president had resigned and the student attendance, in 1830 numbering 168, had fallen in 1840 to 46. It was an unparalleled disaster after which recovery was made only after years of toil and suffering." (Frank W. Cady.)

Benjamin Labaree, a graduate of Dartmouth, was the next in-

cumbent in the presidential chair and devoted twenty years to an attempt to restore the college to its former position both as regards the number of students and the place of the school in the confidence of the community, but succeeded only partially. "Neither President Harvey Denison Kitchel, who followed President Labaree and served until 1874, nor President Calvin B. Hulbert, who served from 1875 to 1880, were able to counteract the forces tending to separate community and college." Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, "heroic ex-president of Robert College," put in five hard years as administrator of Middlebury. President Brainerd began his term of office in 1885, at the dawning of better times for the college. The student body had increased to thrice its size when he resigned in 1908, and a quarter of a million dollars had been added to the endowment funds of the college. John Martin Thomas was President from 1908 until 1921, during which period the number of students was trebled, being in 1921, 447. The faculty was increased from ten to forty, the number of departments being twenty-one. More than one million dollars was added to the endowment, the increased value of the plant was another half million dollars. Middlebury had become a college in more than name when Paul D. Moody was called to preside over its affairs in 1921, and who since has so ably directed the less spectacular—and perhaps more difficult—destinies of the College,

"Enthroned on emerald hill."

Changes in Curricula—Middlebury has experimented less than most of the early-founded colleges with courses of study, novel schools, or methods of teaching. In all these it has kept up to date, but its specialty has been "not a department of study but a type of student." It has endeavored to draw within its walls the youth from the quiet homes of northern New England and, at little expense, give the schooling desired along few lines without any attempt to teach the technicalities or professions. For half a century Middlebury was unable to branch out to any great extent from the simple scheme of classical training with which it was originated. The lack of sufficient funds was one of the reasons for this; the religious difficulties arising during President Bates' long leadership which all but wrecked the college, was a still more effective reason. Not until the early years of the present century were there students and money enough to warrant any branching out. In 1902, application was made to the Vermont Legislature for permission to "establish a coördinate institution for the higher education of women."

Permission was granted, and it is significant that since that time the number of women students has increased steadily from 53 in 1903 to 147 ten years later with an addition of another hundred during the next decade. Meanwhile the proportionate number of women has increased until they form more than half of the student body.

There have been other innovations which were somewhat less successful, for the temptation has been very great to introduce departments which encroached upon the territory covered by technical schools. Some of the innovations were thoroughly desirable, such as the founding of a department of Pedagogy for the training of high school teachers, which was one of the first things done by Dr. Thomas when he was elected president of the college in 1908. There were at this time no facilities within the State for such special training. The Legislature without hesitancy granted Middlebury $6,000 to maintain such a department; this was increased to $10,400 in 1912. The Summer School, which has been so marked a feature of Middlebury, was established a few years later. In 1911-1912 a Department of Engineering was inaugurated and an attempt made to develop a department of practical agriculture. Both were in competition of such schools in the University of Vermont and Norwich and possibly did good in spurring on these other institutions to bolster up these departments in their own universities. Middlebury has not hesitated to do away with any branch of teaching which experience proved could not be done well by the institution. Aside from the wholesome, thorough and sincere straight college training provided, the most notable contribution of the establishment has been to the secondary teachers and officials corps of the State. Some investigations of a decade ago disclosed that one-fifth of the High School teachers, principals and others, in Vermont, were Middlebury graduates, and that the College had given more teachers to the State than any other institution.

Growth in Monetary and Physical Equipment—One of the best evidences of the success of any college is its expansion in number of students and teaching force, growth in wealth and endowments, and in buildings and other physical equipment. Starting without a building of its own, and with no endowed professorship until Samuel Miller gave a thousand dollars in 1806, to found a professorship of Mathematics and Natural History, Middlebury College in 1928 had two completely organized colleges, one for men, the other for women, fifty professors and associates, with many instructors, courses too numerous to mention, dozens of buildings, equipment

and grounds valued at nearly one and a half million dollars, and had a permanent endowment of double this amount. The annual expenditures for 1926-1927 were close to three hundred thousand dollars.

The growth in wealth and equipment has been greatest during the modern period of the history of the college, two-thirds of the endowment funds being received within the last decade. But, in a measure the recent developments are the belated harvest of more than a century of heart-breaking effort. After fifty years of service, the value of everything held by the College did not exceed fifty thousand dollars, even with half of that amount being secured in 1848. During President Brainerd's administration, 1885 to 1908, a quarter of a million dollars was added to the endowment funds, and two new buildings had been joined with the three then on the campus. When President Thomas began his term of office in 1908, the status of affairs might be summarized: Enrollment of students, 156; Endowment, $415,340; value of plant, $240,000; Campus, thirty acres. By 1921, these totals had expanded to: Student enrollment, resident, 447, Summer School, 339; faculty, 40; endowment, $1,693,515; plant valued at $771,363; campus, 244 acres with 11 permanent buildings upon it.

The years following the end of the World War had been strenuous ones in the affairs of Middlebury. By 1921 there was an inclination to feel that the height of the tide had been reached and that reaction must set in and the college would be fortunate if it were able to hold its own for a time. Such were the conditions when Paul D. Moody was called to the presidential chair. Dr. Moody was the son of a father who might have been one of the great financiers of the world had he not been more interested in religion and education. Within seven years, under the leadership of President Moody, Middlebury has bettered the rate of progress made in the decade preceding his inauguration. To complete the comparisons started in the preceding paragraph, the statistics stood in 1928 as: Student enrollment, men 337, women 289, summer session 517, a grand net total of 1143 (net 1127); Endowment (permanent) $3,050,000; College plant valued at $1,470,000; buildings, 15, besides many professors' homes, cottages and smaller structures.

The endowment funds have come from many sources and provide for a wide range of benefits. The General Education Board had pledged $250,000 for the endowment of professors' salaries, if three times that amount were raised for the same purpose. Under

Dr. Moody this million dollar endowment was fully subscribed with about $200,000 still to be paid. The State appropriated in 1928, the sum of $16,800 for use by the College, of which amount, $7,200 was for scholarships. Rather different from gifts made to other American colleges was the bequest of Joseph Battell who had for years been acquiring forest and mountain areas in the neighborhood of Middlebury with a view to their conservation. Upon his death it was found that he had left his holdings, amounting to some 30,000 acres along the high ridge of the Green Mountains, to Middlebury College. The lands are heavily wooded and beside offering an opportunity for the study of forestry, have a value estimated as approaching one half million dollars. Dr. Henry Freeman Walker of the class of 1860, bequeathed $100,000 for the establishment of a "Furlough and Emergency Fund," the income of which is to be devoted to the needs of the Faculty in providing for occasional periods of rest, recreation, or study, and in relieving the more immediate exigencies of sickness. Mrs. Russell Sage left $100,000 to Middlebury. There is the "Fletcher D. Proctor Fund for American History," now amounting to $60,000, the interest on which is devoted to the payment of the salary of a Professor of American History. The A. Barton Hepburn Economics-History Professorship was founded by the gentleman of that name by a bequest of $200,000. He also left $250,000 for the general use of the College.

Expansion of Equipment—After fifteen years, Middlebury was given its first permanent building through the benefactions of Gamaliel Painter and others, the State refusing to give aid. It was first known as West College, but since 1846 has borne the name of Judge Painter, one of the founders of Middlebury. It is still in use, mainly as a dormitory, and is the oldest college building in Vermont, and "one of the best examples of colonial architecture in New England." Starr Hall, built in 1861 and rebuilt after a fire in 1865, now used as a dormitory, and the Old Chapel, erected in 1836, made, with Painter Hall, the three college buildings at Middlebury until the present century. The beautiful Egbert Starr Library was erected at a cost of $50,000 with funds bequeathed by Mr. Egbert Starr, and dedicated in 1900; the son of the donor, Dr. M. Allen Starr, contributed $10,000 for the decoration of the Library and the purchase of books. Two new wings have recently been added to the buildings. One houses the Julian W. Albernethy collection of books, the other enlarging the general library facilities of the college. Warner

Science Hall was built in 1901 through the benefactions of Ezra J. Warner of the class of 1861, as a memorial to his father, Hon. Joseph Warner, a former Trustee of the College. The Hall quarters the Departments of Physics, Biology, Geology and Home Economics. The Hall of Chemistry dates from 1913, erected with a part of the General Education Fund of $200,000. On May 15, 1915, just before the fiftieth anniversary of his class, former Governor John A. Mead of Rutland expressed his desire to President Thomas to erect a chapel for the college. "I have in mind," he said, "a dignified and substantial structure in harmony with the other buildings of the College, and expressive of the simplicity and strength of character for which the inhabitants of this valley and the State of Vermont have always been distinguished." This beautiful white marble building is a replica in the grand style of a New England colonial meeting-house, with a rich and impressive interior. The chime of eleven bells in the tower is the gift of former Governor and Mrs. Mead. The Chateau, or Maison Française, is one of the most unique buildings upon any college campus in the country. It is a most attractive two and a half story structure built after the design of the Louis XIV wing at Fontainebleau. Serving as both classroom and dormitory, it is the home of the French department of the college, and only the French language is spoken within its walls. The courses in French and the other Romance languages rank exceedingly high among the colleges of the United States. Mrs. Emily Proctor Telfer was the donor of the Music Studios. One of the larger modern dormitories is Hepburn Hall on one of the highest points of the campus, erected for the college by Hon. A. Barton Hepburn of the class of 1871. Pearsons Hall, a building for women, opened in 1911, was named in honor of Dr. D. K. Pearsons, the Vermont-born philanthropist who contributed $25,000 to the first fund raised by President Thomas. Battell Cottage, enlarged in 1910, Hillside Cottage, Hillcrest, Weybridge House and Jewett Wilcox House, are some of the buildings provided for the residency of women. One of the historic residences of the village, the Edward J. Phelps House, is fitted up for the use of students in music. The Homestead, a typical New England house, serves the classes in Home Management. The ladies' buildings are mainly clustered in Battell Campus, while the men's college has "Old Campus" of thirty acres. The gymnasium, erected in 1910 at a cost of $51,000, was named after Former Governor John G. McCullough of Bennington, whose gift it was. The splendid Porter Athletic Field of 79 acres was

purchased and equipped by a friend of the College. The Porter Infirmary requiring $50,000 for its completion and equipment in 1925, was given by William H. Porter.

The Bread Loaf School of English—Nestled among the Battell forest trees in the town of Ripton and adjacent to Bread Loaf, the fifth highest mountain in the State, is Bread Loaf Inn, where for ten summers there has been successfully conducted a School of English for graduate students and teachers. It was started by Dr. Edward D. Collins and has attracted to its courses groups of mature students interested in the study and teaching of English. For the past five years the average number of students in attendance has been one hundred and eleven, representing twenty-two States and forty-one different colleges annually. The teaching staff for 1929 represents professors from fifteen different colleges and universities. Among the noted literati who have lectured at this school in the past are Robert Frost, Irving Bacheller, Katharine Lee Bates, Carl Sandburg, and William Lyon Phelps. Edward Markham and Sinclair Lewis are among the visiting lecturers at the six weeks' course in the summer of 1929. Teaching, writing and the production of the drama are featured at this school, while out-of-door activities are not neglected. This historic inn is quite near the Long Trail, and many a student has taken an exhilarating trip through the woods under competent guides. "The silent influence of the great outdoors is a real part of the Bread Loaf plan."

NORWICH UNIVERSITY

This Institution was founded
upon the Principle that a
Citizen Soldiery is essential
to the maintenance of free
Government

Throughout a hundred years
that principle has been
Cherished and men have here
learned that obedience to law
is Liberty

In the centuries to come let
All who enter this
gate be faithful to the past.

GENERAL VIEW OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS, NORTHFIELD

The visitor to Norwich University finds the above words graven upon a bronze tablet over the gateway by which he enters the grounds of the institution. He might do well to realize that he is visiting the pioneer engineering school of the United States, antedating as it does by eight years all others. Under its charter from Vermont, March, 1834, it became the first military collegiate institution in this country. For a long period of years it was the only distinctively Cavalry School in America. Only one other institution has so continuously been rated by the American military authorities (since 1904) as "Distinguished College, Class M. C." For many years its relation to the United States Army was second only to that of the United States Military Academy of West Point. The record of its graduates in the wars of the Nation is especially notable, extending from back of the Mexican War through the World War.

The Peregrinations of Norwich University—This ancient and famous military school was a traveled institution before settling down at its present home in Northfield. It was founded at Norwich, in 1819, by a native son of the place, Captain Alden Partridge, one time superintendent of the United States Military Academy of which he was also a graduate (1806). He was acting superintendent at West Point from 1808 to 1815 before receiving the appointment as the permanent official in which position he served for two years. He resigned from the Army in 1818 to devote himself to the preaching of a gospel of preparedness of the United States. Upon one phase of this preachment he was very emphatic, that the youth of our country should receive their higher education in schools which gave both civil and military training, so that the graduate from such institutions might be ready not only for a substantial success in ordinary life but prepared for leadership of armed forces in the time of war. Norwich University was the fruit of his evangel, and as its president it was opened with a hundred students on September 4, 1820, in Norwich. In nearly every feature the college was patterned after that of West Point Academy.

The school was, from the start, too large to be properly cared for by the village in which it had been located. It was, for its day, too isolated; the students of the first year came from eleven States and one foreign country. In 1825 the Academy, for it was not titled a university until 1834, was removed to Middletown, Connecticut, and the number of students rose to four hundred and eighty. Captain Partridge had founded something quite beyond even his most

sanguine expectations. Buildings were required, equipment must be purchased, the right to confer degrees authorized by the State. It was planned to hold a lottery to raise funds,—this was a common method of that period—and the legislative authorities refused to grant permission or give aid of any sort. The end had come; there could be no progress while the Legislature took such a position. Such buildings as were already owned were promptly sold for five thousand dollars to become the property of Wesleyan University, and Captain Partridge opened a school in the old Academy building of Norwich Village (June 4, 1827). Some years later the Universalist Church decided to found a college and invited Captain Partridge to become its head. Accordingly, in 1834, a charter for Norwich University was granted by the Legislature and the school was opened the following year.

It is rather unfortunate that the word "university" was saddled upon the new establishment, for it neither planned to be nor could it become a group of colleges. In 1866 several of the buildings of the institution were burned, notably the one known as "South Barracks." The town of Northfield, almost the exact centre of the Vermont, asked to have the school moved there, offering grounds and buildings. Here on a high hill in the heart of the Green Mountains, the University stayed its travels and began its period of modern development which still continues. Captain Partridge had died in 1854, being succeeded by Colonel Truman B. Ransom, the second of the fifteen presidents of Norwich University. The military man is seldom able to remain long in one place or position, and changes have been many in the leadership of the school, but efficient leadership it has had ever.

The necessary buildings were rather slow in being provided, and there has never been a time when another would not have furthered the work of the University. Jackman Hall (Old Barracks) was the first (1868) of the structures to grace the hill overlooking Northfield. It was used for dormitory, recitations, laboratory and almost everything else required in the collegiate work. In recent years it has been modernized and equipped as a barracks for eighty men. Dodge Hall, the gift of General G. M. Dodge of the class of 1851, was erected in 1892. It contains chemical laboratories and lecture rooms. In 1901, Dewey Hall was built from contributions from the general public, in honor of Admiral George Dewey, class of 1855, in recognition of his achievements as the naval hero of the Spanish-American War. Alumni Hall was built in 1905 in memory of the founder of the University, and supplies quarters for 135 men.

NEW ARMORY, NORWICH UNIVERSITY, NORTHFIELD

Carnegie Hall, containing the libraries and lecture rooms, was the gift, in 1905, of Andrew Carnegie. The Ainsworth Infirmary was the gift of Mrs. Laura L. Ainsworth.

At the centennial celebration of the founding of the University (October, 1919) a new and thoroughly up-to-date cavalry stable, 165 feet long by 76 feet wide, built of cement and brick, was opened for the first time. The erection of the stable was made possible through funds given by General Rush C. Hawkins, the Rough Riders' Association and other friends. During the following year the Riding Hall was erected and dedicated to the memory of Lieutenant Moses Taylor, Jr., of the class of 1920, who was killed in France while leading a patrol in No Man's Land. It is said, by army officers who have inspected it, to be one of the best buildings of its sort in this country.

The new $175,000 combined armory and gymnasium has a huge auditorium one hundred feet wide and two hundred feet long, with a seating capacity of four thousand. It is located opposite Sabine field and was dedicated May 24, 1929, with impressive ceremonies.

As is to be expected, the emphasis in teaching is military in many of its aspects, but it is rather that military training and habits are, in themselves, one of the best preparations for secular careers. It is realized that the graduates of the school, for the most part, will not enter either the Army or Navy, and a large proportion of the attendants of the University have gone out to make a name for themselves as statesmen, lawyers, doctors, ministers, educators, authors, scientists, manufacturers, engineers and many other lines of useful activity. It would be quite possible to mention a long list of graduates who have been remarkably successful and wrought wonders. The first steam railroad in the United States, the Pottsville & Danville in Pennsylvania, was built by a Norwich graduate, as were also the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific. Civil life also produces its heroes but their praises are seldom sung!

Because it has been so distinctively a military school, and because its men have made such remarkable records in the military affairs of the United States, it is quite natural that these records should be interesting to many. He who is interested in preparedness can but rejoice in the part Norwich has played in a country which is notorious for its habit of stumbling into war and planning what to do about it after it has become completely involved. A thousand students of Norwich have had their names enrolled upon the military records of our country; the University has been represented by

trained officers in every war from the Black Hawk War to the present. The very notable reputation borne by New England troops in all the Nation's conflicts are in a measure due to their leadership by men trained in the Northfield institution. Of the thousand mentioned above there were eight major-generals, twenty brigadier-generals, sixty-two colonels, one admiral, eight commodores and nearly nine hundred officers of lesser rank.

The second president, Truman B. Ransom, resigned to command the Ninth New England Regiment in the Mexican War, and gave his life at the head of his troops at the battle before Chapultepec, September, 1847. At the outbreak of the Civil War, students and graduates volunteered in great numbers and proved invaluable in the drilling of raw troops and in the command of them; the honor roll of the University of this war contains the names of more than five hundred officers. As evidence of the more than local character of Norwich it is well to recall that there were forty alumni who served in the Confederate armies. Eighty per cent of the former students of the University volunteered during the Spanish-American War.

The fourteenth president resigned to take service in the Regular Army,—he had been at the head of the First Vermont Infantry on the Mexican border—when the United States entered the World War. At this time, "Norwich alumni and cadets of military age numbered one thousand four hundred and forty-three; over one-half, or 58.4 per cent were in service and 86 per cent of these were commissioned officers." Many, or most of these, left the ranks once the war was over, but in 1919 there were 340 still in service as commissioned men. "Such a record through the wars of a country is suggestive of the reason why General Leonard Wood in a public address at the University made this comment, 'The splendid thing about Norwich is that she has always kept the faith.'" General Hawkins explained his interest in Norwich which was the inspiration of the campaign for funds which eventuated in the Cavalry Stables: "I am proud of the record made by Norwich graduates in the field and at sea whenever they have been called upon to serve their country."

The University authorities and graduates are more inclined to draw attention to the engineering courses of the school than to its military past. Two-thirds of those who have been graduated from Norwich within the last quarter century have pursued engineering in one form or another. The large number who performed military



NORWICH UNIVERSITY, NORTHFIELD, SHOWING DEWEY HALL, THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, AND DODGE HALL, DEVOTED TO RECITATION ROOMS (IN BACK OF FLAG)

service during the late war, did so as a temporary service and not as a career. The "Dodge-Ellis History of Norwich University" (1911) relates that over a period of fifteen years 175 students had adopted engineering as a profession, 36 had gone into business, 28 into temporary naval or military service, 14 into teaching, 4 into law and 1 into medicine. A fuller compilation, covering the known graduates from early times to 1910, shows the division to be as follows: "549 civil engineers, 216 lawyers, 120 physicians, 334 business men, 98 bankers, 80 authors and 30 editors." It might be noted that for the last two decades, the number of undergraduates taking the engineering course have always been larger than of those taking all the combined other courses. The engineering departments are the heart of the university, and the prospective engineer is never sacrificed to military training. While being statistical, something of the expansion of Norwich University during the present century, and of the wide field from which it draws its students may be appreciated from such a statement as the following: In 1902, Norwich had 74 undergraduates, 57 of whom came from Vermont; in 1908, there were 168 students, of whom 87 came from Vermont; in 1912-13, the numbers were 147 and 62; in 1920, there were 251 in the University, of whom 106 came from Vermont; and in 1928; the figures are 314 and 123. As regards the gradual increase of attendants from outside the State, in percentages it runs: 33 from other States in 1902; 49 in 1908; 58 in 1912 and in 1920; 61 in 1928. Almost as many have been coming from Massachusetts in the last decade as from Vermont.

Norwich University is a college of civil and military preparedness. Its record from the day of Ransom and his comrades in 1849, to the great numbers of its officers in the late war, bears testimony to the effectiveness of its military training. The records of its men made in civil life are as noteworthy, an evidence of the truth of the statement written in bronze over the gateway to the University: "This Institution was founded on the principle that a Citizen-Soldiery is essential to the maintenance of free government. Throughout a hundred years that principle has been cherished and men have learned that obedience to law is liberty." Or, to quote words of Major-General C. P. Summerall, war-time commander and present Chief of Staff of the United States Army: " . . . all who went forth from Norwich University justified the principle that military training is a contribution not only to the military strength of the country but to the citizenship of our people."

The aims and purposes of this famous military institution are

best expressed in a magazine article written by President Plumley entitled, "Education for Citizenship in the Military School," and which here follows:

The university of which I am president was established more than a century ago, the first of a long line of institutions in which the young men of our nation can receive training in the arts and sciences and at the same time be prepared, as citizens, to aid in the development of the country in peace time and to defend it in time of war.

The making of citizens fitted to render this joint service to their country is the main business of the military schools of the United States. The best citizens are those who have a sound education, not only in the subjects usually included in the school curriculum but in other less tangible matters. The soundest education for citizenship is that which teaches men to respect the rights of others; recognizes that properly constituted authorities are entitled to obedience, and realizes the responsibilities that attach to the rights and duties of citizenship.

It is this sort of citizenship that the boy who is educated at our military colleges and schools has inculcated in him day by day. He goes to school to study and to learn the lessons which are set for him. Through the daily and hourly influence of the military system under which his school life is organized he learns many other things than those in his books.

The cadet comes to realize the importance of punctuality; he learns how absolutely indispensable is accuracy; that real spirit is recognized and receives rewards, and that its recognition implies also added responsibility which must be met. He learns the basic truth that no man is fitted to command who has not first learned to obey. Ideals of honor are impressed on him—the honor of the corps and personal honor as well.

The cadet salutes his superior officers; he touches elbows with his fellow cadets; he gives commands to his subordinates. Doing these things he learns the rights and prerogatives of each—what is implied in authority and how he may use it but never abuse it.

Respect for law, obedience to authority, self-control, and the power to command are the invaluable assets of those trained in our military schools and colleges—the resultants from the training they receive in their school and college life. The wise admixture of military principles and organizations with the essential education along academic lines produces the finest type of citizen-soldiery—the citizen whose chief aim it is to give of his best to the development of his country, but who will, also, if occasion demands, go to his country's defense.

Every rational and conscientious person the world over joins in the wish and hope that there may never be another war and that it may never be necessary for our citizens to defend their country. This hope is closer to realization today than ever before. Through the ages we have fought and striven onward and upward to establish and maintain justice, mercy and liberty. If necessary we will fight to maintain them so that the largest measure of happiness may be enjoyed by all.

But with the progress of education, the sound education for citizenship which I uphold, it will be increasingly unnecessary. Education in the science of war is, paradoxically, education toward the art of peace.

In its long and successful history Norwich has had fifteen presidents, as follows: Alden Partridge, Truman Bishop Ransom, James Davis Butler, Rev. Dr. Rogers Strong Howard, Rev. Edward Boums, Samuel Walker Shattuck, Malcolm Douglas, Josiah Swett, Charles Albert Curtis, Charles Hildreth Lewis, George Nichols, Allen Danvers Brown, Charles Horace Spooner, Colonel Ira Louis Reeves, Charles Albert Plumley.

Bennington College for Women—It may not come within the province of history to record what has not been begun, but the idea of an institution conducted on novel principles, a pioneer in the endeavor to lead students to "learn by living" is too intriguing to pass unnoted. Before these paragraphs are published, ground will have been broken for the long projected Bennington College. More than one million dollars, enough to erect the buildings required for the first class, have been pledged of the initial two and a half millions desired. The plans call for a group of homes or dormitories arranged around a central green with a main college at its head. A member of the faculty will live in each of the "homes" which will be fitted to house forty students. Each dormitory will have a name and each student in it will have her room for the full period of four years. This and other plans being very much after the "Harkness plan" of Harvard.

The educational program of Bennington College is very much more novel than the physical equipment. Feeling that something must be done for the women of the present generation different from the usual college type of training, the school will attempt to blaze a new trail. The improved methods that psychologists have uncovered within the last quarter century will be used. Much of what formerly was taught women will be omitted, and much that has been withheld will be offered. Teaching will be by living rather than listening. Subjects that apply to life, and women's life, will hold first place. No written examinations will be required; courses will be arranged according to the individual. The first two years are to be devoted to introducing the student to the various fields of knowledge, and two years are allowed for specializing in the fields chosen and in which she has proved abilities. The emphasis is to be placed on the individual, with personal research, small groups, and one teacher to every ten pupils. Promotion will be based on evidence of development, and not on the traditional tests and examinations.

It is expected that the college will open in September of 1930, with a full freshman class of 110 young women. It is hoped, eventually to raise $4,000,000 for the complete equipment of Bennington College as now planned, and that when complete, 325 students selected from all parts of the United States as possessing unusual promise will be in attendance. Robert Devore Leigh, formerly of the faculty of Williams College, will be the first President and the head of the department of government.

St. Michael's College, under the direction of the Catholic Fathers of St. Edmund of Canterbury, dates from 1904, the year in which it was inaugurated by the first President, the Very Reverend Amand Preval. One frame building housed the forty-four students of the first enrollment, but three years later an addition was built more than doubling its capacity. Since that time more land had been purchased until the college now owns eighty-six acres. Some of the houses on the estates purchased for the college campus have been converted into dormitories, such as St. Edmund's Hall and Preval Hall, etc., so that the physical equipment is quite sufficient for the number of students in attendance. St. Michael's College is located about a mile west of Winooski, within easy motor and train distance from Burlington. The situation, like that of all the Vermont colleges, is a delightful one.

For the first few years of its history St. Michael's was more of a high school in the instruction given than college. On January 28, 1913, papers of incorporation were taken out and the institution was empowered to grant college degrees. The college course covers four years, including two years of Philosophy. The High School department is still maintained, the usual four-year courses—Classical, Latin-Scientific, English-Scientific and Commercial—being available. The school has received the recognition of the State educational authorities and the New York State Board of Regents. Scholarships are provided in both high school and college, and the college has the customary societies, religious, literary, athletic and social. Sports are encouraged; a quarterly review, "The Purple and the Gold," is published.



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